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OF

ANCIENT EGYPT

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HISTORY

OF

ANCIENT EGYPT.

CHAPTER XII

THE CHRONOLOGY.

Difficulties of the Subject—scheme arising. Chronological Deficiencies of the Monuments. Schemes of Manetho, of Herodotus of Doubtful authenticity. Impossibility of an exact Chronology. Limits of the Uncertainty. 1. for the Third Period, or 'New Empire.' (2. for the Second or Hyksos Period. the Middle Empire')—(3) for the First or Earliest Period (the 'Old Empire'). Possibility of an intelligible History without exact Chronology.

It is a patent fact, and one that is beginning to obtain general recognition, that the chronological element in the early Egyptian history is in a state of almost hopeless obscurity. Modern critics of the best judgment and the widest knowledge, basing their conclusions on evidently the same data, have published to the world views upon the subject which are not only divergent and conflicting, but which differ, in the estimates to which they arrive, to the extent of above three thousand years. Bockh gives for the year of the accession of Menes (Mena), the supposed first Egyptian king, the

year B.C. 5702, Unger the year B.C. 5613, Mariette Bey and Lepsius B.C. 5004, Brugsch Bey B.C. 4455, Lauth B.C. 4157, Lepsius B.C. 3892, Bunsen B.C. 3623 or 3059, Mr. Reginald Stuart Poole B.C. 2717, and Sir Gardner Wilkinson B.C. 2691.[1] It is as if the best authorities upon Roman history were to tell us, some of them that the Republic was founded in B.C. 505, and others in B.C. 3508. Such extraordinary divergency argues something unique in the conditions of the problem to be solved, and it is the more remarkable, since the materials for the history are abundant, and include sources of the most unimpeachable character. The best of ancient Chaldæan historians has left an important monograph on the history of the Egyptians,[2] a native writer of high position and intelligence[3] wrote an elaborate work upon the subject, whereof we possess several extracts and an epitome; and the monuments discovered in the country and recently deciphered contain a mass of historical information more varied, more abundant, and more certain than has been yielded by the researches made in any other of the great seats of early empire.

The chronological value of these various sources of information is, however, in every case slight. The great defect of the monuments is their incompleteness. The Egyptians had no era. They drew out no chronological series. They cared for nothing but to know how long each ephemeral god, human or bestial, had condescended to tarry upon the earth. They recorded carefully the length of the life of each Apis and, and

[1] Compare the list given by Bunsen (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 80*) with that of the author in the *Origin of Nations*, p. 21.

[2] Herodotus, book ii.

[3] Manetho of Sebennytus, priest of Heliopolis.

the length of the reign[1] of each king, but they neglected to take note of the intervals between one Apis-bull and another, and omitted to distinguish the sole reign of a monarch from his joint reign with others. A monarch might occupy the throne ten years in conjunction with his father, thirty-two years alone, and three years in conjunction with his son—in an Egyptian royal list[2] he would be credited with forty-five years, although his first ten years would be assigned also to his father, and his last three to his son. Contemporary dynasties, if accepted as legitimate, will appear in an Egyptian list as consecutive, while dynasties not so accepted, however long they may have reigned, will disappear altogether. Only one calculation of the time which had elapsed between a monarch belonging to one dynasty and one belonging to another has been found in the whole range of Egyptian monumental literature, and in that—which is the (apparently) rough estimate of 'four hundred years'—neither the *terminus a quo* nor the *terminus ad quem* is determined. Generally speaking, the Egyptian monumental lists are not chronological at all; the only one which is so, the Turin papyrus, exists in tattered fragments, the original order of which is uncertain, while the notices of time which it once contained are in many cases lost or obliterated. The latest historian of Egypt says of it: 'As the case stands at present, no mortal man possesses the means of removing the difficulties which are inseparable from the attempt to restore the original list of kings from the fragments of the Turin papyrus. Far too many of

[1] It would seem that a king did not lose a year when he succeeded the last in

[2] This is the case with Eratosthenes, according to Bunsen's *History*, vol. i. p. [illegible] (Eng. trans.), who gives in the Turin papyrus forty-five years.

the most necessary elements are wanting to fill up the *lacunæ*. . . . It also appears certain that the long series of the kings, which the papyrus once contained, was arranged by the author according to his own ideas and views.'[1] It may be added that the chronological element is altogether wanting in the earlier part of the papyrus, while, as the papyrus itself belongs to the time of the eighteenth dynasty, it furnishes no materials at all either for the chronology or the history of the later kingdom. These many and great defects of the Turin papyrus it is quite impossible to supply from any other monumental source. Occasional corrections of the numbers given in the papyrus may be made from the annals of the kings; but there is no possibility of filling up its gaps from the monuments, nor of constructing from them alone anything like a consecutive chronological scheme, either for the Early, the Middle, or even the Later Empire.[2] The Middle Empire—that of the Hyksos—left no monuments at all; and from the monuments alone no estimate of its duration can be formed. The Early and the Later Empires left important monuments, but not a continuous series of them; and the result is that, even for the last, a monumental chronology is absolutely unattainable.

[1] Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. [illegible] text of [illegible].

[2] This is confessed by most Egyptologers. Lepsius says at the very close of a work devoted to the monumental history: 'Even with the help of the twenty-fifth dynasty, that of Manetho is found to be a whole [illegible] to be tested with [illegible] (*Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. v. p. [illegible]). Stuart Poole: 'The evidence of the monuments with regard to the chronology is not [illegible] (*History of the Nile*, p. 58). Lenormant: 'Le plus grand service [illegible] établissement d'une chronologie [illegible] certaine et [illegible] (*Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. i. p. 322).

Under these circumstances it is scarcely probable that modern historians would have made any attempts to reconstruct the chronology of Ancient Egypt, had not certain schemes on the subject descended to them from their predecessors in the historical field, possessing, or appearing to possess, a certain amount of authority. Herodotus, the earliest of classical inquirers into Egyptian history, laid it down that the monarchy had lasted between eleven and twelve thousand years before its destruction by Cambyses.[1] He partitioned out this time among 341 kings, of whom, however, he mentioned nineteen only by name. Of these one had built Memphis;[2] another had constructed the Lake Moeris;[3] three, who were consecutive, had built the three great pyramids,[4] another had set up the two chief obelisks at Heliopolis,[5] and so on. His chronology was very imperfect, and not altogether consistent.[6] Still, it seemed to furnish an outline, and it contained some important synchronisms, as one with the Trojan war,[7] and another with Semiramis.[8] It professed to have been derived from the Egyptian priests, men especially well skilled in history;[9] and it represented, according to the writer, not the views of any one school, but those in which the three great sacerdotal colleges of Thebes, Memphis, and Heliopolis were agreed.[10]

Another Greek writer of repute, Diodorus Siculus, while less exact than Herodotus, seemed to furnish

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[1] Herod. ii. 100, 142.
[2] Ibid. § 99.
[3] Ibid. § 101.
[4] Ibid. §§ 124-34.
[5] Ibid. § 111.
[6] Menes he says, lived 900 years before his time (ii. 13), Sabaco 700 (ibid. § 140), yet one king is mentioned to whom his method of calculation would assign three centuries.
[7] Ibid. §§ 112-20.
[8] Ibid. § 141.
[9] Ibid. § 3.

some important additions to his chronological scheme, and some corrections of it; since, while—to speak generally—following in Herodotus's footsteps, he occasionally added a king to the Herodotean list, and also frequently noted that several generations intervened between monarchs whom Herodotus represented as immediately succeeding one the other.

Great vagueness, however, must have characterized any chronology which should have based itself simply on the views and statements of these two authors, and, had it not been for the extant remains of a third writer upon the history of Ancient Egypt, it is scarcely probable that any of the complete chronological schemes, to which we have adverted, would ever have been composed, much less published. It happens, however, that, in the third century before the Christian era, a native Egyptian priest, named Manetho, wrote for the information of the Greeks, then recently settled in Egypt as the dominant race, a history of his country, which was professedly complete and in a certain sense continuous, and which contained a vast number of chronological statements, though not (so far as appears) anything like a definite chronology. Manetho's work was not so much a history of Egypt as a history of the Egyptian kings, whom he arranged into thirty dynasties, which he treated of separately, apparently without distinctly marking whether they were contemporaneous or consecutive.[1] Against each king's name was set the

[1] At the commencement of his account of Manetho's dynasties Eusebius says: "If the number of years assigned by these kings is in excess, we must remember that there were, perhaps, at one and the same time several kings in Egypt; for we are told that the Thinites and Memphites reigned simultaneously, and likewise the Elephantine and Diospolites, and others also. Moreover, some seem to have reigned in one place after another, each dynasty having a period of its own assigned to it; so that several kings did not rule successively but differ-

number of years that he reigned; and at the close of each account of a dynasty these years were added together and the total sum given.[1] The imperfection of the method was twofold. Joint reigns were counted as if they had been successive in the summation of the years of a dynasty,[2] and contemporary dynasties not being in many cases distinctly marked, the sum total of all the years of the dynasties was greatly in excess of the real period during which the monarchy had lasted. In early times attempts were made to correct the serious chronological errors thus resulting. Eratosthenes reduced the 2,300 years[3] of Manetho's "Old Empire" to 1,076,[4] and a later writer, probably Panodorus, cut down the 5,000, or more, of the entire thirty dynasties to 3,555.[5] But it does not appear that either writer possessed trustworthy data for his conclusions, or reached them in any other way than by arbitrary selection and a free use of conjecture. Scholars of the present day have probably quite as ample materials for criticising Manetho's scheme as either Panodorus or Eratosthenes, but are better aware of, or more ready to acknowledge, their insufficiency for the purpose.

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[1] See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 120 (ed. Parker); this work by Dr. Brugsch unites, unlike his elaborate *Geschichte Aegyptens*, a clear chronological table of the Old Egyptian Empire.

[2] Thus the number produced by adding together the years assigned to the first fourteen of the Memphitic dynasties by Africanus. The Armenian Eusebius raises the number to 443.

[3] See Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 113–5.

[4] Ibid. p. 80. Compare Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* vol. ii. p. 530.

on kings reigned at the same time in different parts of Egypt (Africanus, *Chronography*, § 9). The expression, we are told in a special note, cannot be wrong that it seems did not happen, since the lives of contemporary monarchs in Egypt but it is still remarkable that does not enable us to determine whether Manetho, or some scribe, to whom his history was first handed, is referred to.

The sum total does not generally agree with the items, but it is the only way to make it probable that it was arrived at by simple addition.

It adds to the difficulty of eliciting a satisfactory chronology from Manetho's work, that we possess it only in epitomes, and that these epitomes are conflicting. Two writers of Christian times, Africanus, probably in the second century, and Eusebius in the fourth, professed to give a synopsis of Manetho's dynasties, with his numbers. The actual work of Africanus is wholly lost; that of Eusebius has come down to us, but only in an Armenian version. While, however, the originals of both were still in existence, they were read by a Byzantine court official, George the Syncellus (circ. A.D. 800), who embodied the main statements of both writers, as he understood them, in his 'Chronography.' This work is extant; and thus we have what are in fact three professed epitomes of Manetho, one by Africanus, and two rival claimants to represent the original epitome of Eusebius—the Armenian translation, and the recension of George the Syncellus. If the numbers in the three epitomes corresponded, we should be tolerably sure that we possessed Manetho's actual views; but they do not correspond—on the contrary, they differ very considerably. The total number of years assigned by Manetho to his thirty dynasties is given, in the Eusebius of the Syncellus, as 4,728, in the Armenian Eusebius as 5,205; in the Africanus of the Syncellus as 5,374.[1] The total assigned to a dynasty is very rarely the same in the three versions,[2] the difference between the totals sometimes amounting to hundreds of years. The result is that we do not know with any exactness what Manetho's real numbers were.

Results greatly differing from those are given by Lepsius, Bunsen, and others. Differences in the MSS. and in the statements made by the Syncellus make absolute accuracy impossible.

[1] In not one out of the thirty dynasties is the number exactly the same in all the three versions.

much less what were his real chronological views, if he had any.

Finally, it has to be borne in mind that Manetho's chronological statements, even when fully ascertained by the agreement of all the epitomes, are not unfrequently contradicted by the monuments, and consequently rejected by all modern critics.[1] This occurs even in the later part of the history, where the dates are, as nearly as possible, certain. If Manetho could make mistakes with respect to the reigns of kings who were removed from his time by no more than three centuries, how can he be implicitly trusted with respect to reigns at least twenty centuries earlier?

The entire result is: (1) that Manetho's general scheme, being so differently reported, is in reality unknown to us; (2) that its details, being frequently contradicted by the monuments,[2] are untrustworthy; and (3) that the method of the scheme, the general principles on which it was constructed, was so faulty, that, even if we had it before us in its entirety, we could derive from it no exact or satisfactory chronology.

Thus the defect of the monuments is not made up to us by the chronological data which are supplied by authors. These latter are copious; but they resolve themselves ultimately into statements made by the Egyptian priests for the satisfaction of the Greeks and Romans upon points on which they felt no interest themselves, and on which their records did not enable

[1] E.g. Manetho, according to all the three versions, assigned six years only to Nero, the Pharaoh Necheh of Scripture. Britain had then been nearly fifteen years under the Roman dominion, and was regarded as settling the matter.

[2] It is especially remarkable that the numbers of the Turin papyrus differ so greatly from Manetho's, showing that the Egyptians had no one definite, generally admitted scheme. As this is a very important point, the details are given in the Appendix (Note A).

them to give exact information. The Egyptians themselves, it can never be too often repeated, 'had no chronology'[1]. It never occurred to them to consider, or to ask, how long a dynasty had occupied the throne. The kings dated their annals by their regnal years,[2] and it is probable that the dates of a king's accession and of his demise were commonly placed on record in the priests of his capital city, so that the entire length of his reign could be known, but no care was taken to distinguish the years of his sole reign from those during which he was associated with his predecessor. Neither were contemporary dynasties distinctly marked, as an ordinary rule. In one case alone did Manetho apparently note that two of the dynasties which he mentioned reigned simultaneously[3]. Yet all modern critics, or almost all, believe that several other instances of contemporaneousness occur in his list[4]. The extent to which the practice of entering contemporaneous or collateral lists in an apparently continuous line has been carried is disputed, and the divergence of the modern chronologies is due principally to the different views which have been taken on this subject. Lenormant makes two out of the thirty dynasties collateral.[5] Brugsch, five,[6] Bunsen, seven;[7] Wilkinson and Stuart

[1] Lenormant, *Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. i. p. 322.

[2] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 19, 21; vol. iv. p. 27; vol. vi. pp. 23, 43, 44, &c.

[3] Manetho's seventeenth dynasty consisted of an equal number of Theban and Shepherd kings, which he represented as reigning side by side during the space of 151 years (Syncellus, *Chronographia*, p. 81 *b*).

[4] Even Lenormant admits that, in one part of his work, 'Manetho a pour semble de bonnes raisons pour admettre des synchronismes' (*Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. i. p. 322). Brugsch sees here the dynasties collatérales, mais point même temps, dans une autre partie de son ouvrage, il semble admettre positivement des dynasties qui furent contemporaines (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. i. pp. 255, 256).

[5] The seventh with the ninth and tenth (*Histoire*, vol. i. p. 342), and the twelfth with the fourteenth (*ibid.* p. 343).

[6] *History of Egypt* (Lat. ed.), vol. i. pp. 167, 168, 184, vol. ii. pp. 313, 314.

[7] *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii. pp. 100, 205, 210, vol. iv. pp. 480, 500, 510, 512.

Poole, twelve.[1] Until some fresh light shall be thrown upon this point by the progress of discovery, the uncertainty attaching to the Egyptian chronology must continue, and for the early period must be an uncertainty, not of centuries, but of *millennia*.

When the difficulties of Egyptian chronology are stated in this broad way, it may seem at first sight that the entire matter is hopeless, and that historians of Ancient Egypt had best drop out the chronological element from their narratives altogether and try the experiment of writing history without chronology. But it is not necessary to adopt quite so violent a remedy. The difficulties of the Egyptian chronology are not spread uniformly over the entire period covered by the history; they diminish as we descend the stream of time, and for the period occupied by Manetho's 'New Empire' are not much greater than those which meet us in Assyrian, Phœnician, or Jewish history, where it is the usual practice of historians to grapple with them and reduce them to a *minimum*. We propose, therefore, to endeavour, in the remainder of this chapter, to mark the limits of the uncertainty with respect to each of the three periods into which it has been customary, from the time of Manetho, to divide the history of Ancient Egypt.

I. With respect to the latest period, or that of the New Empire. This period includes the last thirteen dynasties of Manetho, or, if we terminate the history of Ancient Egypt with its conquest by Cambyses and the Persians, it reaches from the beginning of Manetho's eighteenth to the close of his twenty-sixth dynasty, containing thus the history of nine dynasties. These are the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth, Theban;

[1] See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 388, 3rd edit.

the twenty first, Tanite, the twenty second, Bubastite; the twenty third, Tanite, the twenty-fourth, Saite, the twenty fifth, Ethiopian, and the twenty sixth, Saite, like the twenty-fourth. The chronology of this last-named dynasty is very nearly exact. Cambyses conquered Egypt in the year B.C. 527.[1] Psamatik III., whom he dethroned, had reigned only six months;[2] his father, Amasis, forty four years;[3] Apries, the predecessor of Amasis, probably, twenty-five years,[4] Psamatik II., the father of Apries, six years;[5] Neco, his grandfather, sixteen years, and Psamatik I., the father of Neco, fifty-four years[6]—total, 145 years. Thus Psamatik I., the founder of the dynasty, ascended the throne in B.C. 672. His immediate predecessor, Tirhakah, reigned twenty-six years,[7] and we may therefore place his accession in B.C. 698. Thus far the dates are, as nearly as possible, certain. They rest mainly upon Egyptian sources, but are confirmed to a considerable extent by Herodotus, and accord with the Scriptural dates for Pharaoh Hophra (Apries), Pharaoh-Necho (Neco), and Tirhakah.[8]

[1] Cambyses died in B.C. 521, having reigned six years in Egypt (Prideaux, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 107, 1st edit.), whereas most chronologers have compressed it into 7½, not to mention those who have expanded it to 8.

[2] Herod. iii. 14 (cf. 66). Manetho ap Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 75 b.

[3] Herod. ii. 10. Manetho (according to Africanus) gave the same number, but accidentally to Sonchoosis for two years only.

[4] So Herod. ii. 161 and Manetho, according to Eusebius. But, according to Africanus, Manetho's number was nineteen.

[5] This is proved by one of the Apis steles (Mariette, No. 40, Brugsch, vol. ii. p. 247, 1st edit.), which also makes certain the sixteen years of Neco.

[6] Another of the *steles* (No. 29 of Mariette) dates from the reign of Psamatik I. in his fifty-four years.

[7] The fifty-four years of Psamatik I. were counted from the end of the twenty years of Tirhakah, as appears from *stele* No. 5 of Mariette, which is given in Brugsch, vol. ii. p. 295 (1st ed.). Manetho assigned to Tirhakah only eighteen or twenty years.

[8] Pharaoh-Hophra appears in Jeremiah as the European antagonist of Nebuchadnezzar, and as reigning with him after the time when Jerusalem was taken and Egypt. There was almost no fault, which would be the twelfth year of Apries, according to the numbers in the text. Pharaoh-Necho warred

From the date of Tirhakah's accession we are thrown almost wholly upon Manetho. He seems to have ascribed to the two kings, who, with Tirhakah, made up the twenty-fifth dynasty, either twenty-two or twenty-four years[1]—which would bring the accession of the dynasty to B.C. 720 or B.C. 722—a date confirmed by the synchronism of Sabak (Sevech or So) with Hoshea.[2]

The Saite dynasty preceding this consisted of but one king, Bocchoris, who reigned either six or forty-four years[3]—the uncertainty now beginning to take larger dimensions. His accession may have been as early as B.C. 766, or as late as B.C. 728. To the two dynasties preceding the twenty-fourth Manetho assigned a period of 209 years,[4] which would make the date for the accession of the twenty-second Bubastite dynasty B.C. 975 or B.C. 935. Now this dynasty was founded by the great king Shishonk, or Shishak, who received Jeroboam as a fugitive,[5] and warred with Rehoboam.[6] It is a remarkable confirmation of the Egyptian numbers that, in the margin of our Bibles, the date for the

with Isaiah of Judah, and caused [illegible] the [illegible] year [illegible] the accession of Nebuchadnezzar, according to the Second Book of Kings, or B.C. 606. Some accounts [illegible] the above [illegible] from 718 to 695. Tirhakah is in Scripture represented [illegible] great expedition against Hezekiah, which [illegible] earlier part of [illegible] probably about B.C. [illegible].

[illegible] according to Africanus [illegible] 774 B.C. [illegible] according to Eusebius [illegible] 750 B.C.

[illegible] that the [illegible] Shebek [illegible] Sabaco [illegible] merely the official [illegible] kings,

Hist. of Egypt, vol. i. p. 7[illegible] the [illegible] This king was called [illegible] and [illegible] by Herodotus, [illegible] the capture of Samaria, which was in B.C. [illegible] 721.

[2] See [illegible] to the Months of Africanus [illegible] *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i. p. 71. [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] Eusebius [illegible] p. [illegible].

[illegible] Sabaco [illegible] p. 73. [illegible] the [illegible] by Eusebius, [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] the [illegible] into [illegible] B.C.

[3] [illegible]

[4] [illegible]

[5] 1 Kings xi. 26, 27, 2 Chr. xi. 1–9

expedition of Shishak against Rehoboam, calculated from Hebrew and Babylonian sources only, is placed in the year B.C. 971. Thus synchronism lends a strength and a support to the Egyptian chronology thus far, from which we may reasonably conclude that we are still upon *terra firma*, and have not entered into cloud-land.

To the dynasties intervening between the twenty-second and the nineteenth Manetho is said to have given either 265, 302, or 308 years,[1] thus bringing the accession of the twentieth dynasty to B.C. 1288 as a *maximum*, or B.C. 1200 as a *minimum*. The former of the two dates is, on the whole, preferable.[2]

The nineteenth dynasty of Manetho held the throne —according to him—either a little more or a little less than 200 years.[3] It appears, however, by the monuments, that this number is exaggerated; and moderns are not inclined to allow to the dynasty a longer period than about 160 years,[4] which would give for its commencement either B.C. 1360 or B.C. 1443.

Yet greater doubt attaches to the duration of the eighteenth dynasty. Manetho's names and numbers are here in extreme confusion, and are quite irreconcilable with the monuments.[5] The time which we

Two hundred and sixty-five, according to Africanus (Syncell. pp. 74-4), but 302, as cited by Africanus himself, and 308, according to Eusebius (Syncell. pp. 74-5).

[2] Maximum are generally to be preferred to maximum numbers in the Egyptian lists, on account of the tendency to swell the totals by counting in the names of kings who were at first associated with their predecessors. But the evidence of the monuments at this point tends to show that even the highest estimate of Manetho's numbers is here insufficient.

[3] Manetho's total, according to Africanus, was 200 years, according to Eusebius, 194 years (Syncell. pp. 74-5).

[4] Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 384-7; and also Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 74; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 321, &c.

[5] The four kings named Thothmes have cut the portion representative in Manetho's list, viz. Thothmes I., the Queen or King Amunophs (Amenhotepe) are reduced to two. Horus,

assigned to the dynasty was, according to Eusebius,[1] very nearly three centuries and a half, according to Africanus, a little more than two centuries and a half;[2] according to Josephus, rather less than that period.[3] Moderns vary in their estimates between 180 years and 300,[4] but incline, on the whole, to about 200. This number, if we accept it, will produce for the accession of this great and glorious dynasty, and the inauguration of the New Empire, the year B.C. 1643, for which, however, Dr Birch substitutes B.C. 1600, and Dr Brugsch B.C. 1700.[5] There are writers who place the date as low as B.C. 1525.[6] Thus the limits of uncertainty in the 'New Empire' extend, at the utmost, to somewhat less than two centuries.

II. With respect to the Middle Empire, or period of the Shepherd kings. The limits of uncertainty are here very much increased. Manetho, according to Africanus,[7] gave three dynasties of Shepherds, the fifteenth, sixteenth, and seventeenth of his list, who reigned respectively 284, 518, and 151 years, making the entire period one of 953 years. Josephus reduces this total to 511 years,[8] and the dynasties, apparently,

reach the last king of the dynasty, he was by six or seven years, a 'Hebrew' interpolated between Aahmes and Amenophis I. Manetho's numbers are therefore [illegible] for some of the kings, extra for others. If the dynasty as closed with Horus the sum total would not amount to 200 years according to any computation, and according to the list of the African Eusebius will be only 103 years.

[1] Ap. Syncell. Chronograph. vol. i. p. 73, A. The assumption of the reigns is given as 348 years, though the actual sum of the years assigned to the kings is 348 years.

[2] Two hundred and sixty-three years (ap. Syncell. pp. 62, 69, 70).

[3] Two hundred and forty-six years, if we take Ramesses I. as beginning the nineteenth dynasty (Joseph. c. Apion. § 14).

[4] Mariette and Le Normant give 241 years (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 99); Brugsch, 380 years (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 1, 2nd Ed.); Wilkinson, 86 years (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 32, 33), Bunsen, 521 years, &c.

[5] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 78; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, &c.

[6] Smart Poole in Dr Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, art. viii. Egypt, vol. i. p. 5.

[7] Ap. Syncell. Chronograph. vol. i. p. 61.

[8] *Contr. Apion.* i. § 14.

to two. Eusebius allows only a single Shepherd dynasty, and assigns it no more than 103 years.[1] Thus the various reporters of Manetho differ here enormously, varying between one century and nine centuries and a half.

It happens, however, that in this case the monuments come to our aid. There is one which shows Apepi, or Apophis, to have been the last of the Shepherd kings, and contemporary with a certain Ra-Sekenen,[2] who immediately preceded Aahmes, the founder of the eighteenth dynasty. There is another which not obscurely intimates that Set or Suites was (as Manetho also witnesses[3]) the first of the Shepherd kings, and also gives his date as 400 years[4] before some year in the reign of Rameses II. Now the only dynasty of Shepherd kings whose names Manetho gave began with a 'Suites' and ended with an 'Apophis,' according to both Africanus and the Armenian Eusebius; so that there are strong grounds for believing that the rule of the Shepherd sovereignty began and ended with this dynasty,[5] to which Manetho assigned 284 years, according to Africanus, or, according to Josephus, 259 years and ten months. These numbers are probably, both of them, in excess, since the dynasty consisted of only six kings, whose united reigns can scarcely have

[1] *Chron. Can.* I. 20. [2] See Birch, *Archæologia*, vol. xxxv. p. 42. The two names exactly [illegible].

[3] See *Records of the Past*, viii. pp. 3, 4; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, [illegible] p. 254, [illegible].

[4] All the reports of Manetho agree that to [illegible] Suites (Set) the [illegible] the shepherd kings.

[5] See the Table of 400 years given in the *Records of the Past*, viii. pp. 164 and 165; and Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 70–6, and 120.

[6] Mr. Sewell, *Characteristics*, pp. 68–[illegible]. It is true that Josephus denies the use of 'cubits' in Egypt, making Apepi the fourth monarch of the 24th king; but Africanus and the Armenian Eusebius together must be taken to outweigh his authority.

[7] This point has been well argued by Canon Cook in the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. i. pp. [illegible]. His arguments seem to me quite irresistible.

covered more than two centuries. Such an estimate produces for the accession of Sates the probable date of B.C. 1843, which is between four and five hundred years before the probable year for the accession of Rameses II. (about B.C. 1410).

If the four hundred years of the Tanis inscription be regarded as an exact number, which is a possible view, the only alterations required in the dates hitherto suggested would be the following. We should have to shorten the periods assigned to the seventeenth and eighteenth dynasties by twenty years each; to make the date for the accession of the eighteenth dynasty B.C. 1623 instead of B.C. 1643; and that for the accession of the seventeenth or Shepherd dynasty B.C. 1803 instead of 1843. The four-hundredth year from the accession of Sates will then fall within the reign of Rameses II.

If the views here propounded be accepted, the additional uncertainty attaching to the dates of the 'Middle Empire,' beyond that which attaches to the earlier part of the 'New Empire,' will be one of some sixty or eighty years only. As, however, there are still writers of repute, who assign to the Shepherd kings a period of above five centuries, practically the additional uncertainty to the unlearned must be admitted to be one of about three centuries. The 'New Empire' commenced its existence not earlier than B.C. 1700, and not later than B.C. 1520, the 'Middle Empire' is thought by some to have commenced as early as B.C. 2200, by others as late as B.C. 1720. The uncertainty has now risen from two centuries to five.

III. With respect to the 'Old Empire,' or native kingdom anterior to the Shepherd invasion. It is in this portion of Egyptian history that the main doubts

and difficulties with respect to the chronology occur, and that the uncertainty changes from one measured by centuries to one of *millennia*. Manetho assigned to his first fourteen dynasties terms of years, which, if the dynasties were in all cases consecutive, would make the whole period covered by them one of 2905 years. Mariette Bey, who accepts altogether the idea of there being any contemporary dynasties in Manetho's list, a little diminishes this amount by corrections of a few of the numbers, and makes the 'Old Empire' occupy a space of 2,700 years.[1] Brugsch Bey, who admits, but admits sparingly, the theory of dynasties being contemporary, and substitutes for Manetho's estimates of reigns a calculation by generations,[2] makes a further deduction of nearly four centuries from Manetho's sum total, and gives the old native kingdom a duration of 2,400 years. Baron Bunsen, adopting the 'contemporary' idea to a much larger extent than Brugsch, and accepting a calculation of Eratosthenes by which he supposes the real length of the 'Old Empire' to have been correctly fixed, reduces it to the comparatively moderate term of 1,076 years, giving for its commencement B.C. 3059.[3] Lastly, Mr. Stuart Poole and Sir Gardner Wilkinson, by still further carrying out the 'contemporary' theory, effect a further reduction of about four centuries, assigning to the first native king-

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[1] See the table given by Lenormant on the authority of Mariette (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 322).

[2] *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 33-4; vol. ii. pp. 311-16, 1st ed. Calculations founded upon generations are by the nature of the case exceedingly uncertain, and become a source of *large* error, if the ordinary length of a generation in the time and country for which the calculation is made is improperly estimated. Brugsch allows 33½ years for the Egyptian generations, which is an over-estimate of at least one-third. A correction of the error would reduce his 2,400 years to 1,600.

[3] *Egypt's Place*, vol. v. p. 62.

dom no longer a period than about six centuries and a half, whereby the commencement of monarchy in Egypt is brought down to about B.C. 2700, or a little later.[1] We have thus for the period of this First Era an uncertainty extending to above 2,000 years, the maximum term assigned to it by recent writers being 5,700 years, and the minimum 637.

There appear to be at present no means of terminating this controversy. The monuments belonging to the ancient kingdom cluster mainly about four dynasties—the fourth of Manetho, the fifth, the sixth, and the twelfth. A few belong to the eleventh and the thirteenth. There are none which can be positively assigned to kings of the first, second, or third; and thus we have no direct proof of those dynasties having existed. Egyptian monumental history commences with Seneferu,[2] who seems to correspond to Manetho's Soris, the first king of the fourth dynasty. The fourth and fifth dynasties were certainly consecutive; and the sixth probably followed the fifth. The seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth may have been—probably were—collateral. None of the kings belonging to them have left any monuments; Manetho has not condescended to record their names; and it cannot therefore but be suspected that they were really secondary kings, contemporary with each other, or with the monarchs of the eleventh dynasty perhaps even with the early monarchs of the twelfth. Again, the fourteenth dynasty is as unknown as the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth, and must be placed in the same category. The monuments thus confirm six only of Manetho's

[1] See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 340–1, and *Dr. Smith's Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. p. 606.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 62, 1st ed. Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 31, De Rougé, *Recherches, &c.* p. 30.

first fourteen dynasties; and from seven to nine centuries would perhaps be a sufficient space to allow to these six.

On the other hand, the Egyptian monuments are of such a character that they scarcely ever *prove* any two kings to have been contemporary, and it is therefore quite open for an historian to maintain that all the dynasties are both historical and consecutive, in which case the conclusions of Mariette would be reasonable. The support given by the monuments to some of Manetho's early dynasties being taken to corroborate the whole, and the entire fourteen dynasties being viewed as consecutive, 2,500 years, or an average of 200 to a dynasty, will not be manifestly excessive. It is probable, therefore, that Egyptian chronologers will always be divided into the advocates of a longer and a shorter chronology, the estimate of the former class for the commencement of the monarchy exceeding that of the latter by something like two thousand five hundred years.

Exact chronology is, beyond all doubt, a most important adjunct to history, and, where the foreign relations of a state form a main element in its life, and the parallel histories of distinct countries have to be taken into account, exact chronology, or an approach to it, is a necessity for the proper understanding of the course of affairs, and of the bearing which events in one country had upon those in another. But, where a nation is isolated, or where its history at any rate is unmixed with other histories, and flows on in its own separate channel without contact with any neighbouring stream, the need of exact chronology is much less, and a considerable vagueness in the dates may be tole-

rated. It is possible to have a very fair knowledge of the general character of a river—of the direction of its course, the hue and quality of its waters, the equableness or variableness of its flow, even of the countries upon its banks—without exact acquaintance, or anything more than a very vague notion, of its length. It is the same with history. If we can obtain a clear knowledge of the condition of a people at different periods, if we can represent the different phases of its life in the order of their occurrence, if we can—to some extent, at any rate—perceive and appreciate the causes which produced the various alterations, we may present an instructive picture of them—compose an agreeable and useful history—even though we can only conjecture vaguely the length of time during which each condition lasted. It is this which an historian of *early* Egypt must aim at effecting; and if he succeeds in effecting it, he must be satisfied. The chronological riddle is insoluble. He must set it aside. But he needs not therefore to set aside that immense mass of material, possessing the highest interest, which the toils of travellers and explorers, and the patient labours of philologists, have accumulated during the last century. The "Old Empire" of Manetho is a reality. It lives and moves before us in the countless tombs of Ghizeh, Sakkarah, and Beni Hassan, on the rocks of Assouan and the Wady Magharah, on the obelisk of Heliopolis, and in numerous ancient papyri; its epochs are well marked; its personages capable in many cases of being exhibited distinctly, its life as clearly portrayed as that of the classical nations. And that life is worth studying. It is the oldest presentation to us of civilised man which

the world contains, being certainly anterior, much of it, to the time of Abraham;[1] it is given with a fulness and minuteness that are most rare; and it is intrinsically most curious. A picture, therefore, of the Old Empire may well be required of the historian of Ancient Egypt, and will be here attempted, notwithstanding the vagueness of the chronology.

For the 'Middle Empire' an approximate chronology will be given. The author is strongly convinced of the shortness of the 'Shepherd' period, and cannot bring himself to assign to it a duration of above two centuries. He regards it as commencing about B.C. 1840 and terminating about B.C. 1640.

The dates for the 'New Empire' will be found gradually to advance towards absolute exactness. Its commencement, circ. B.C. 1640, is doubtful to the extent already allowed,[2] but the uncertainty of the chronology diminishes with each successive dynasty, and when we reach the twenty-second, it scarcely exceeds twenty years, since the synchronism of Sesonchis with Rehoboam fixes the commencement of that king's reign to some date between B.C. 975 and B.C. 955. From the accession of Tirhakah the chronological difficulties almost disappear, and thenceforth exact dates will take the place of those vague and merely approximate ones which are necessary for the earlier periods.

[1] No historian of Egypt places Abraham before the twelfth, or the later part of the eleventh dynasty. One (Lepsius) regards his sojourn in Egypt as belonging to the time of the eighteenth dynasty.

[2] See above, p. 15.

CHAPTER XIII

THE OLD EMPIRE—THE FIRST BEGINNINGS

Uncertainty of the Succession of the Early Kings. Official Order, determined after the Expulsion of the Shepherd Kings not to be trusted as historical. The List, as given by the chief Native Authorities. Doubts as to the Existence of Menes. Remarks on the Name Athothis. Hesepti mentioned on the Rosetti. Distinction attaching to Manetho. Variations in the Lists. General Character of the Names. The traditional Nature of the Monarchs mostly and mistaken. Condition of the Egyptian People at this early time. Character of their Art and of their Religion. Principal Features of their Life.

Ἀνεξιχνίαστα καὶ τὰ πολλὰ ἀπὸ χρόνων αἰτίων ἀκίνητα ἔτι τὰ μᾶλλον ἀφανῆ ἐφάνη.—Thucyd. i. 21.

When the great monarchs of native Egyptian blood, who bore sway in Egypt after the expulsion of the 'Shepherd' kings, resolved, for the 'honour of their excellent majesty,' to set forth before the eyes of their subjects the long list of their royal predecessors, and for this purpose ransacked such remains of the 'Old Empire' as had survived the 'shipwreck' of the state brought about by those foreign invaders,[1] they undertook a task for which it may be doubted whether there existed any sufficient materials. Egyptian civilisation had been annihilated by an avalanche of barbarians;[2]

[1] See Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 300: 'Nous assistons donc, sous la quinzième et seizième dynastie, à un nouveau *naufrage* de la civilisation égyptienne.'

[2] Ibid. p. 303: 'La civilisation égyptienne, d'abord connue seulement par l'invasion, reprit ainsi le dessus dans la Thébaïde, &c.

the whole country had been devastated; tombs had been rifled, papyri burnt or torn to shreds, even the stone monuments partially defaced and injured, how should the succession of kings from father to son during a space of even seven centuries be recovered after so complete an overthrow and destruction of all that had gone before? Royal names, rendered conspicuous by the *cartouches* enclosing them, existed no doubt in large numbers, as they exist to this day, on monuments which had escaped the wear and tear of time and the ravages of the "Tartars of the South;"[1] but what clue could there have been to their true order and proper arrangement? what means of discovering the real relationship of the kings who bore them? Egyptian monarchs did not, ordinarily, glorify their predecessors, or even put on record the name of their true father. They merged their earthly in their heavenly parentage, and spoke of Horus or Ra, or Ammon, or Hathor as their fathers, totally ignoring the race from whose loins they had sprung. Private persons, in the inscriptions upon their tombs, might sometimes indicate the succession of two or three monarchs under whom they flourished, but this would be a very partial and incomplete means of arriving at the truth, and it would be altogether wanting for the earliest period.[2] It would seem that there must have been a large amount of arbitrariness in the order which was assigned to the names recovered from the monuments, as there certainly was in the number of the ancestors which the different monarchs claimed to themselves.[3]

[1] See Lenormant, *Manual*, vol. i. p. 302. "Les Egyptiens disent les Barbares du Midi, comme les Tartares ou Cosaques aujourd'hui, &c.

[2] No names of kings have been found on the tombs of individuals anterior to the times of the fourth dynasty. De Rouge, *Recherches*, &c., pp. 12–36.

[3] Thothmes III. exhibits sixty-

Still a certain order, presenting fewer variations than might have been expected, seems to have been arrived at, and to have become, at any rate, the officially recognised one: and this order, though it has no claims to be regarded as historical, must, under existing circumstances, be placed before the reader, both as being the basis on which various 'Histories of Egypt' are built, and as that which is supported by the largest amount of authority. It is not certain that all the kings on the List are real personages, or that some of those who are said not reign contemporaneously; but on the whole there is ground for believing that the great majority of them were kings who actually bore sway in some part of Egypt before the erection of the pyramids, and though the bare names tell us little, and the traditions which belong to them are almost worthless, yet a certain interest attaches even to mere names of so ancient a date, and for the full understanding of the later native kingdom it is important to know what its belief was as to that more ancient monarchy from which it claimed descent, and with which it strove to establish in every way a solidarity and a continuity.

The subjoined is a tabular arrangement of the early Egyptian kings, according to the chief native authorities. It is, in its principal features, based upon the table drawn up by M. de Rouge in his interesting 'Researches,' but embodies corrections which he subsequently made, and a few alterations of names from other sources.

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one of his in the 'Hall of the Ancestors' at Karnak (Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v. p. 441), Seti I. exhibits seventy-seven, though having only three generations later (De Rouge, p. 13); while Rameses II., the son of Seti I., exhibits only fifty-two (Bunsen, vol. v. pp. 60–1).

The Early Kings

Manetho, according to Africanus	Fragments of the Turin Papyrus.		New Table of Abydos (Sect. I.).	Table of Sakkarah (Time of Rameses II.)
Dyn. I.				
1 Menes	[illegible]	Col. I.	Menes	
2 Athothis	[illegible]		Teta	
3 Kenkenes			Ates	
4 Uenephes			Ata	
5 Uenephthis	[illegible]		Hesepti	
6 Miebidus	Hesepti		Merbapa	Merbapen
7 Semempses	Merbapen		Aqa	
8 Bienekhes	Aqa	Col. II.	Kabahu	Kabahu
Dyn. II.	[illegible]			
9 Boethus	[illegible]		Hotepa	Neterbiu
10 Kaiechos	[illegible]		Kakau	Kakau
11 Binothris	[illegible]		Ba-neter	Ba-neter
12 Tlas	[illegible]		Uaznes	Uaznes
13 Sethenes	Sneta		Sneta	Sneta
14 Chaires	[illegible]			
15 Nephercheres	Neferka			Neferkara
16 Sesochris	Neferka-Sekari			Sekari neferka
17 Cherres	Hu [illegible]			hafa
Dyn. III.	[illegible]		(Tafi)	Babi
18 Nechcrophes	[illegible]		Nebka	
19 Tosorthrus	Nebka		Ba-neter	Ba-neter
20 Tyreis	Ba-neter		Teta	
21 Mesochris			Seba	
22 Soyphis			Neferkara	
23 Tosertasis				Ra-nebka
24 Aches &c.	Huni			Huni
Dyn. IV.				
25 Soris	Senefern		Senefera	Senefera

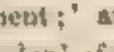
A few remarks only need be made on these names. In Menu, or M'nn, the supposed first king—the Men of Herodotus,[1] the Men-es of Manetho,[2] and the Men-as of Diodorus[3]—we have probably no real personage,[4] but a

[1] Herod. ii. 99. Herodotus does not actually give this form, but he names Mŷris and his successor Mŷris-imply it.

[2] Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 64 B.

[3] Diod. Sic. i. 45.

[4] Dr Birch says with equal judgment and force: 'Nothing however seems to have been made at the time of Menes remains, and he must be placed among those founders of monarchies whose personal existence a severe and enlightened criticism doubts or denies' (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 25).

heros eponymus, the mythic *establisher* of the kingdom,[1] and founder of the first capital, Memphis. The Egyptian name, which the Greeks made into Memphis, is *Men-nofer*,[2]  , 'the good station,' or 'the good establishment;' and Menu, , is the '*establisher*' or 'founder' of this 'station.' The name has not been discovered on any monument of the Early Empire.[3] It first appears in the 'New Table of Abydos,' where it heads the list set up by Seti I., the second king of the nineteenth dynasty;[4] it is found again in the list of Rameses II. at the Ramesseum;[5] and appears also on a fragment of the Turin papyrus. But we have no evidence that it was known in Egypt earlier than about B.C. 1440.

Of the kings Teta, , Atet, , and Aut, , there is no other record than the occurrence of their names in the list of Seti I. and some supposed remains of them in the fragments of the Turin papyrus.[6] The Greeks seem to have expressed all three names by the form Athóthis[7] or Athothes,[8] which seems like a Grecised form of the god of learning, Thoth. It was perhaps with some reference to this connection that the first Athóthis was said to have been a physician and to have written books on anatomy.[9]

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[1] Compare the 'Theseus of Attic myth legend, whose name meant disposer,' 'founder,' 'lawgiver.'

[2] Brugsch, *Histoire d'Egypte*, p. 31; Birch in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v. p. 585.

[3] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 24. 'No contemporary monument is known of his age or inscribed with his name.'

[4] De Rougé, *Recherches*, &c., p. 17, and pl. 2 at the end of the book.

[5] Bunsen, *Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 64.

[6] These remains appear to be so slight as to make it quite uncertain whether the papyrus really contained them. (De Rougé, *Recherches*, &c., p. 16, note.)

[7] Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 54, c., p. 56, a.

[8] Eratosth. ap. eund. p. 94, b.

[9] Manetho ap. eund. p. 54, c.

The fifth king in the list of Seti I., who appears also in a fragment of the Turin papyrus, the king Hesepti or Hesep, 𓇋𓊪𓏏𓊪 (called Usaphaidus by Manetho), is mentioned in several copies of the 'Ritual,' or 'Book of the Dead,' as the author of two of its most important chapters.[1] He is also mentioned in a papyrus of the date of Rameses II. as a king anterior to Senta.[2] The context rather implies that he was immediately anterior,[3] but the expression used is to some extent doubtful. If admitted to have this meaning, it would show that, as early as Rameses II., there were different traditions as to the succession of the ancient monarchs.

The sixth king, Merikapu, the Miebidos of Manetho,[4] has the singular honour of being mentioned in the Turin papyrus, in the list of Seti I., and in that of Saccarah, as well as in the catalogues both of Manetho and Eratosthenes. The list of Saccarah places him at the head of the whole series of kings, as if he had been a monarch of more than common importance. But nothing is recorded of him, either by Manetho or by any other ancient writer, to justify or account for his being held in peculiar honour; no mention is made of him in the 'Ritual,' nor has his name been found on any monument of the Early Empire.

[1] Chs. xxiv and cxxx. See De Rougé, *Recherches*, &c., p. 89, note 1.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 56, 1st ed.

[3] The passage runs as follows — 'This is the beginning of the collection of receipts (?) existing in very ancient papyrus, enclosed in a writing-case, under the feet of the god Anubis, in the town of Sochem, at the time of the reign of his majesty the defunct king, Hesepti. After his death it was brought to the majesty of the defunct king Senta, on account of its wonderful value' (*ibid.* l. c.).

[4] Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 64. c.

[5] De Rougé, *Recherches*, &c., pl. 1, No. 1.

In the place of the Senempses of Manetho,[1] who is perhaps Eratosthenes' Pemphos,[2] there appears in the Turin papyrus a name greatly defaced, which M. de Rouge is inclined to read[3] as Ati, . The New Table of Abydos has an entirely different representation, the *cartouche* containing only a single hieroglyph, which is the figure of a man standing, and holding in his hand the sceptre of a god.[4] It is scarcely possible that this single figure can represent the trisyllabic name of Manetho. That name has been identified[5] with a king, (Ra-hem) Semempt, who appears in the lists of his ancestors given by Thothmes IV. at Karnak, but is ignored by the Turin papyrus, as well as by Seti I. and the author of the list of Saccarah. Here again we have evidence of a variety in the traditions as to the primitive times current under the early dynasties of the New Empire.

Proof of the same is also furnished by the names Butau, , and Teu, , in the New Table of Abydos, which are replaced by those of Neter-bau and Bebi in the list of Saccarah and the Turin papyrus,[6] as well as by the substitution of Ranebka and Huni in the Saccarah list for Setes and Nefer-kara in the Abydos one. The supposition that monarchs of this early period bore two names, which De Rougé makes,[7] is wholly gratuitous, and quite contrary to the

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[1] Ap. Syncell. Lad.

[2] Ibid. p. 98. c.

[3] *Recherches sur les monuments qu'on peut attribuer aux six premières dynasties*, p. 20.

[4] Ibid. pl. 1. No. 7.

[5] By Bunsen (see his *Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 61). Dr. Birch appears to take the same view, when he says (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 20) that the name of Semempses is found both in the Egyptian and the Greek lists.

[6] De Rougé, *Recherches*, &c., pp. 21, 24.

[7] Ibid. p. 21.

monumental evidence, which shows no double name until Ra n-user of the fifth dynasty.[1]

Of the entire list of names down to Senefru it is to be observed, that they have an archaic and (as Dr Brugsch expresses it) a 'plebeian' character.[2] 'They do not at all resemble the Pharaonic names of succeeding epochs.'[3] Consisting uniformly of a single appellation, enclosed by a single elliptical line, or *cartouche*, they are, with few exceptions, short, simple, severe. They express moreover, for the most part, ideas of force and terror[4]:—Tetu, 'he who beats'—Uatu, 'he who strikes'—Kakau, 'the chief bull,' literally 'the bull of bulls'—Souta, 'the terrible.' Into the titles of the later kings the names of divinities, whom they specially worshipped—Ra, Ammon, Thoth, Phthah, Shabak, Hor, Set—usually enter. Among the names of these early monarchs there are but three which are composed with the appellation of a god. Neferka-Sokari, , the tenth in the table of Saccarah, whose name occurs also in a fragment of the Turin papyrus, Nefer-ka Ra, , the predecessor of Senefrú, according to the New Table of Abydos, and Ranebka, or Nebka-Ra , the fourteenth in the Saccarah list, the predecessor of Uatu, have a divine element in their names, the first of these names being compounded with the god Sokari, a form of Phthah,[5] and having the signification of 'perfect through Sokari,' the second meaning 'perfect through Ra,' and the third 'lord through Ra.'

It cannot be said that any facts are really known of these monarchs. Tradition made Menu the founder of

[1] That Ra-n-user was also called Ari will appear in its proper place.

[2] *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 65, 1st ed.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid. p. 66.

[5] See above, vol. i. p. 335.

Memphis,[1] and his son Teta the builder of the royal palace in that city, and a writer of anatomical books.[2] Hesepti, or Hesep, was regarded as the author of some chapters of the religious work known as the 'Book of the Dead.'[3] Under Semempses, or Sementef, who was perhaps a king of this period, there was said to have been a great plague.[4] In the time of Batau (Boethus) the earth gaped near the city of Bubastis, and swallowed up a vast number of persons.[5] Kaiekau (Kaiechos) introduced the worship of the Apis-bull at Memphis, the Mnevis bull at Heliopolis, and the sacred goat at Mendes. Binothris (Binothris) made a law that the crown should be allowed to descend to women.[6] Neferka-Sokari was a giant;[7] and under Neferka-Ra Nephercheres) the Nile flowed with honey for eleven days.[8] Under Nesherôphes (Neseka?) the Libyans, who had revolted, made their submission on account of a sudden increase in the moon's size, which terrified them.[9] Tosorthrus (Sursu?) was worshipped after his death as the Egyptian Æsculapius (Aesculept) on account of his medical skill; he paid attention to inscriptions, and was the first to construct buildings with polished stone.[10]

Such are the traditions which have alone come down to us with respect to these early monarchs. Their value would be but slight, even were they to be depended on; as the case stands, it is difficult to assign them any value at all.[11] They come to us, almost

[1] Herod. ii. 99. Diodorus, however, ascribes the foundation to a later king, Uchoreus (i. 50).
[2] Manetho ap. Syncell. Chronograph. vol. i. p. 64, C.
[3] See above, p. 28.
[4] Manetho, l.s.c.
[5] Ibid. p. 64, D.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Ibid. p. 65, A.
[8] Ibid. p. 65, A.
[9] Ibid. p. 66, B.
[10] Ibid.
[11] Brugsch says 'Here ends,

without exception, from Manetho, who wrote two thousand years after the time, and who, in his accounts of far more recent reigns, is frequently contradicted by contemporary monuments. No doubt Manetho found these traditions in Egyptian authorities; but his credulity was great,[1] his critical discernment small, his diligence in research less than might have been expected.[2] To rely on Manetho is to put trust in a writer too negligent to care for truth, and, had he cared, too uncritical to discover it.

It is a relief to turn from the scanty accounts it gives of (perhaps) apocryphal kings to the condition of the Egyptian people at this early period. The people certainly existed; and though not very much may be known of their condition, yet an interest attaches to all that is known very greatly beyond that which belongs to kings and dynasties. We propose to consider their condition under the three heads of art, religion, and mode of life, meaning manners and customs.

The history of Egypt will always be, to a very large extent, a history of art. Art had, so far as we know, its birth and earliest development in the valley of the Nile, and grew up there by a natural and gradual progress, without being affected to an appreciable extent by any extraneous influences. The earliest of the arts to start into being was no doubt architecture; and its first employment, there as elsewhere, was in the

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according to the Manethonian writing (as information and fable, half true and half false, of the first rulers of Egypt. *It is to be our office.* We are still waiting for the door of the chamber of the ancestors of the most ancient kingdom to be opened to us.' (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 62, 1st ed.)

[1] He is charged in the Nile flowing with honey in Moses' time, converted by *hippopotamus*, and in a host of things.

[2] A very small amount of inquiry must have taught Manetho that Neco reigned sixteen and not six years.

construction of habitations capable of affording shelter from the solar rays and from the occasional, though not very frequent, showers of hail and rain.[1] The earnest of the Egyptian houses seem to have been of wood, which was easier to work than stone, and which was furnished in tolerable plenty by the palm groves that grew luxuriantly in ancient times, probably along the whole course of the river. Indications of the character of the houses are furnished by some of the most ancient tombs,[2] which, though constructed in stone, bear traces, like the tombs in Lycia,[3] of a pre-existent wooden architecture, which has impressed its forms upon the alien material. The rounded mass of stone which forms the lintel above the doorways of the early tombs[4] can have derived its shape from nothing but a reminiscence of the unsawn palm stem which served the purpose in the primitive mansions; the long thin pilasters and architraves are clear imitations of woodwork; and the latticed windows, most difficult to construct in stone, are such as would be produced by the simplest possible arrangement of wooden bars. We may gather from the tombs that the early houses were not without ornament. Alternate pilasters and depressions, adorned with a species of panelling, extended (it would seem) along the entire façade of a house; the door was placed in the middle, and was narrow for its height; over the door was a latticed window of a considerable size, which gave light probably to a central hall, while the rooms on either side of the hall were also lighted by windows, which were small, and

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 45.

[2] Compare the illustrations in vol. i. pp. 184 and 192.

[3] Fellows, *Travels in Asia Minor*, pls. opp. pp. 220 and 238, *Lycia*, pls. opp. pp. 128, 129, 130, &c.

[4] Well represented by Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pt. ii. pls. 3, 8, 18, &c.

placed high up in the walls. The roof would appear to have been flat, and was formed probably by palm-trees split in two, and then covered with a coating of mud or cement.

From the idea of a house for the living the Egyptians passed rapidly, and at a date so early that we cannot possibly fix it, to the idea of a house for the dead. Their religious notions required that this last should be as permanent as possible; and it seems certain that, long before houses were built of any other material than wood, stone was carefully quarried and squared to be employed in the construction of the 'eternal abodes'[1] of the departed. The earliest sepulchres now extant are stone buildings, looking externally like small houses.[2] They stand isolated, like the monuments in our churchyards, each consisting of an oblong

Tomb near the Pyramids.

chamber or chambers, enclosed with massive walls, which slope externally at an angle of 75° or 80°, but internally are perpendicular. A single door, in no way concealed, gives entrance into the interior, and it is in the ornamentation of this doorway that we have the representations of houses in wood. The chamber is

[1] Diod. Sic. i. 51. [2] Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 102.

roofed over with large flat stones; and, if it exceeds a certain size, the roof is supported internally by a massive square stone pier. In this simple and primitive construction we have the germ of the pyramid, which grew up out of it by a number of slight changes.

One of these changes belongs, by general consent,[1] to the period of which we are speaking. In the 'tower' or 'pyramid of Meydoom'[2] we see an enlarged copy of one of these early tombs, differing from them in greatly increased size and solidity, as well as in the novel feature of superimposed stories in a retreating series, the entire number of the stories being three. The Meydoom pile has a grandeur of its own. Emplaced upon an isolated rocky knoll of some considerable height, and standing in the middle of the grassy plain, 'which, green as an emerald, stretches eastward to the holy stream,'[3] it has a proud and imposing appearance, and in almost any other country than Egypt would be considered a monument of high architectural importance. The base measures 200 feet each way, and the height of the second five is little short of 125 feet. The solid contents amount to nearly three millions of cubic feet.

The great 'pyramid of Sakkarah,' as it is called, which is also thought to belong to these early times,[4] shows a further advance in architectural skill and power on the part of the primitive builders. Like the Meydoom building, it was a tower in stages—the number of the stages being six—and, as in the Meydoom

[1] See Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 29; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 20, 1st ed.; Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 180.

[2] See above, vol. i. p. 184, note [1], and for a representation of the 'tower,' or 'pyramid,' see p. 185.

[3] Brugsch, l. c.

[4] Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten*, vol. i. p. 102; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 25; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. p. 150; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 20, 1st ed.

building, the external walls sloped inwards at a slight angle. This edifice is even more imposing than that of Meydoun,[1] since it rises to a height of nearly 200 feet, and covers an area of 135,000 square feet, instead of one of only 40,000. It is emplaced upon a rocky plateau, which has an elevation of nearly a hundred feet above the Nile valley, and is a conspicuous object on all sides.

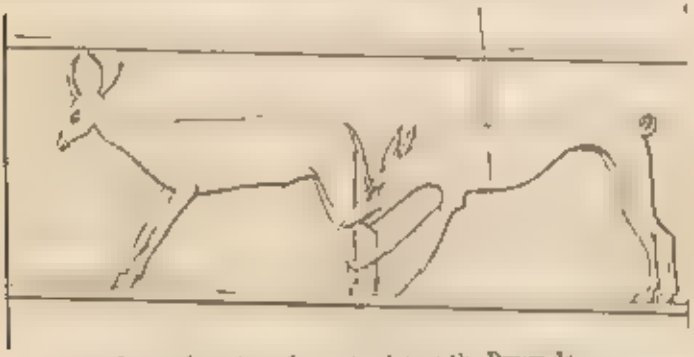
Such, so far as appears, was the furthest point to which architectural skill was carried by the Egyptians of these early days. They did not erect a true pyramid. They did not venture to build on perpendicular stages. They did not give to their work the minute care and finish of later times.[2] Their loftiest creations were less than half the height of those designed and executed subsequently. Gently, tentatively, the builders advanced from the small to the great, always aiming at solidity and permanence, comparatively careless of ornamentation, and looking to obtain the impressive effect, at which they aimed, by size and massiveness rather than by elegance or beauty.

Glyptic art was also known, and practised within certain limits, at this early period. The most ancient tombs are adorned internally with the sculptured forms of the owner, his wife, his children, his attendants, represented in the low relief peculiar to Egypt. These forms have all the ordinary defects of Egyptian drawing—the hard outline, the stiff limbs, the ill-made hands, the over-long feet—but are not greatly inferior even to those of the best epoch. There is a more marked inferiority in the representations of animals, which are not only stiff but ungainly, not only conven-

[1] For a representation see above, vol. i. p. 167, and for the exact measurements see p. 168.

[2] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, l.c.

tional but absurd.[1] Grouping seems to be an unknown idea, each figure stands by itself, or is followed by its counterpart, the same form being repeated as often as is requisite in order to fill up vacant spaces on the walls of the sepulchral chambers. Sculpture 'in the round' was also attempted by the primitive artists; and five or six statues exist which the best Egyptologists assign to a time anterior to that of the Pyramids.[2] Of these M. Lenormant remarks that, 'on studying them, we ob-



Dog and antelope, from a tomb near the Pyramids.

serve a rudeness and indecision of style, which make it clear that at this period Egyptian art was still trying to find the right path, and had not yet formed itself fully.'[3]

A single mosaic, supposed to be of the same early date, tends to raise the art of the time to a higher level. Brugsch says of it: 'The double picture, a little smaller than the natural size, shows a man and his wife in a dignified attitude sitting by the side of one another in a chair of the form of a die. The hair-

[1] See the tomb of Amten, whence the above illustration is taken in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pl. 6.

[2] Three of Sepa and his sons, discovered near the Pyramids and now in the Museum of the Louvre, two others, 'with a European cast of features,' found at Meydoun, and forming a part of the same collection, and a statue of Amten in the Museum of Boulaq. (See Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 40.)

[3] *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 333.

luney of the eye—imitated in shining crystal and white ivory and dark ore in a masterly manner—has all the appearance of life.' On the whole, he accounts the work 'a marvel of art, venerable from its antiquity, and exquisite in its workmanship.'[1]

With respect to the religion of this period, the evidence that we possess is rather negative than positive. The twenty-six names of kings supposed to belong to it reveal the worship of two gods only, Ra, and Phthah, or Sokari. The name of a functionary, Thoth-hotep,[2] reveals the worship of Thoth. With regard to the other gods we have no monumental evidence to show whether at this time they were worshipped or no.[3] Certainly, temples of any pretension were not erected, or we should have some remains of them. The oldest existing Egyptian temple belongs to the reign of Chephren[4] (Shafra), the builder of the Second Pyramid; and, though the classical writers ascribe temples to earlier monarchs,[5] and several certainly existed in Khufu's time,[6] yet their fabric must have been slight, and the religion which consisted in the public worship of gods must have been secondary. No doubt Phthah, Ra, and Thoth—possibly Osiris, Isis, Athor, Horus, and Set[7]—received some worship, and there *may* have

[1] *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 66, 1st ed.

[2] Lenormant, *l.s.c.*; Birch, *l.s.c.*

[3] Khnum is mentioned as a god of the early times by a writer of the age of Rameses II. (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 58, 1st ed.).

[4] For a description of this temple, see vol. i. pp. 215–19.

[5] Herod. ii. 99; Diod. Sic. i. 45, 46, &c.

[6] An inscription given by M. de Rouge in his *Recherches* (pp. 48 &c.) attributes to Khufu the erection of a temple to Isis, and speaks of temples of Osiris and of the Sphinx, who is identified with Hor-em-khu (Harmachis), as every day existing.

[7] Athor (identified with Isis) is mentioned as having a temple in the same inscription (p. 47). Horus and Set are mentioned as objects of veneration to Khufu's mother. The religious practice of the primitive times is not proved by these facts, but is not likely to have been very different.

been built dedicated to them as early as there was monarchy in Egypt; but the real practical religion of the primitive period was that worship of ancestors, whereof we have spoken in the previous volume[1] as an important portion of Egyptian religious practice. The sepulchral chambers above described were the true temples of the period; here the worshippers met from time to time for sacred ceremonies; here hymns were sung, offerings made, and services conducted, from which both the dead and the living were expected to derive advantage. The worshippers regarded their sacrifices, libations, and offerings as contributing to the happiness of the departed, and looked to receive from them in return spiritual, or perhaps even temporal, benefits. They viewed their ancestors as still living, and as interested in the condition and prospects of their descendants; they regarded them as invested with a quasi-divinity, probably addressed their prayers to them, and, like the Chinese, appealed to them for help and protection.

Hence it would seem that from the first there lay at the root of the Egyptian religion the belief in a future life, and of happiness or misery beyond the grave. Embalming was practised long before the construction of the Pyramids, and mummies were deposited in stone sarcophagi, with a view to their continued preservation.[2] The 'Ritual of the Dead' had, we are told, its origin in these times;[3] and, whatever subsequent refinements may have been introduced, it would seem to be certain that the fundamental conceptions of the continuance of the soul after death, its passage through the Lower World, and its ultimate reunion

[1] See vol. i. pp. 423-4.

[2] Birch, *Guide to British Museum*, p. 51.

[3] See above, p. 23.

with the body which it once inhabited, must have been entertained by large numbers from the very first beginnings of the nation. Whence these doctrines were derived, who shall say? There is no human name which stands in the history of Egyptian opinion where the name of Zoroaster stands in Persia, or that of Moses in the history of the Jews. The composition of the 'Book of the Dead' was ascribed, in the main, to the gods.[1] How it happened that an Egyptian thought the future life occupied so large a space, and was felt to be so real and so substantial, while among the Hebrews and the other Semites it remained, even after contact with Egypt, so vague and shadowy, is a mystery which it is impossible to penetrate. We can only say that so it was, that, from a time anterior to Joseph, or even Abraham, the children of Mizraim, in their bright and fertile land on either side of the strong-flowing Nile, thought as much of the future life as of the present, that their religious ideas clustered rather about the tomb than about the temple; and that their worship, domestic rather than national, though it included among its objects some beings regarded as wholly divine, was directed especially towards the spirits of those who had been their 'fathers in the flesh,' and were thought to have a natural interest in the welfare of persons sprung from their loins.

There was another worship, also of a practical character, which belongs almost certainly to this early period—the worship of the reigning monarch. Each king was regarded as an incarnation of Horus,[2] was

[1] Compare vol. i. p. 186.

[2] Seneferu, the earliest king of whom we possess any monuments, styles himself 'the crowned Horus,' and 'the victorious Horus.' De Rougé, *Recherches*, pp. 89, 98; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pt. ii. pl. 2, a.

assigned a priest or priests,[1] and a temple, or at any rate a chapel. He was styled 'the victorious Horus,' 'the divine lord,' 'the ever-living.'[2] His subjects worshipped him, not only during his life, but after his death. The priesthood once instituted in a king's honour was maintained ever afterwards, sacrifices were offered to the defunct sovereign at stated intervals; and in this way each occupant of the Egyptian throne, unless some revolution occurred, continued to be held in perpetual remembrance.[3]

Life in Egypt under the early kings was simpler and less varied than it became at a later period, but not very markedly different. Towns[4] existed at the farthest date to which our materials carry us back, and the distinction between town and country life was a necessary consequence. In the town dwelt the monarch, the courtiers, the royal attendants, the artisans, the shopkeepers; in the country, large landed proprietors, their servants, agricultural labourers, cowherds, perhaps boatmen. Landed property was hereditary,[5] and an upper class was thus maintained, which regarded itself as a nobility. Royal blood often flowed in the veins of these persons, who are frequently said to be *Sutenrech*, 'grandsons of a monarch.'[6] Their wealth, which was considerable, enabled them to maintain a numerous household, which consisted both of male and

[1] De Rouge, *Recherches*, pp. 30, 31, &c.

[2] Ibid. p. 33. *Records of the Past*, vol. xi. pp. 9, 6, &c.

[3] Priesthoods of Menes and Teta continued down to the latest times of Egyptian independence. Suefa, Ra-nebka, and 'the ancient' are also found to have had priests attached to their worship long after their decease. De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 31. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 40, stated.

[4] Thinis or This, and Memphis or Menofre, are connected with the earliest of the traditions. The early tombs are chiefly those in the necropolis of the latter city.

De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 40; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 44.

[5] De Rouge, pp. 41, 44, &c.

female servants, and reached in some instances the number of thirty.[1] Little was spent by them upon personal display. The dress of the upper class, even considerably later than the time whereof we are speaking, was wonderfully simple and unpretending, presenting little variety, and scarcely any ornament.[2] The grandee wore indeed an elaborate wig, but that was indispensable for the sake of cleanliness;[3] otherwise his attire is almost unparalleled in ancient times for simplicity. A short tunic, probably of white linen,

Head of Egyptian noble (early period).

reaching from the waist to a little above the knees, was ordinarily his sole garment. His arms, chest, legs, even his feet, were naked, the use of sandals not being as yet known. The only decoration which he wore was a chain or riband about the neck, on which was suspended an ornament like a rocket.[4] In his right hand he carried a long staff or wand, which he seems to have used as a walking-stick. Such was the

[1] See Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pt. ii. pls. 5–7. The exact number of attendants represented on the walls of the sepulchral chamber of Amten is thirty-three.

[2] Compare the entire series of drawings in the *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pt. ii., which descend as low as the time of the fifth dynasty.

[3] Herod. ii. 36.

[4] See the above woodcut.

great noble's ordinary apparel, his 'undress' costume, to use a modern expression; when he ventured beyond this, and allowed himself to indulge in the refinement of 'dress,' he exchanged his tunic for a somewhat scanty robe reaching from the neck to the ankles, replaced his chain and locket by a broad collar, and, having adorned his wrists with bracelets, was ready to pay visits or to receive polite company.[1] The costume of his wife, if he happened to be married, was not a whit more elaborate. She wore her hair long and gathered in three masses, one behind the head, and the other two in front of either shoulder. On her body she had a single garment—a short gown or petticoat reaching from just below the breasts to halfway down the lower joint of the leg, and supported by two broad straps passed over the two shoulders. Her feet were bare, like her husband's, and, like him, she encircled her wrists with bracelets.[2] We have no representation or account of the houses in which these persons resided. Probably they were plain in character; but their furniture was not inartistic. The chairs on which both sexes sat—or rather stools, for they had no back—were supported on legs fashioned after those of animals, and the extremity of the seat on either side terminated in a lotus-flower.[3] Tables seem to have been round, and to have been supported by a single pillar in the centre. Couches are not represented, but they probably differed little from those of later times; and there had already been invented the peculiarly Egyptian piece of furniture known as the 'head-rest.'[4]

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pt. i. pl. 3 (upper figure).

[2] Ibid. pl. 7. Compare pls. 20, 30, &c.

[3] Ibid. pls. 5 and 6.

[4] See above, vol. i. p. 400, and compare Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pt. ii. pl. 4 bis two on left, where an attendant carries a head-rest in his left hand.

The animals domesticated at this early period were, so far as appears, the dog, the cow, the goose, and perhaps the antelope. Antelopes were, however, also hunted,[1] and it is possible that those which appear to be tame[2] were wild ones taken young and kept as pets. Pet animals seem to have been much affected, and included the jerboa, the hare, and the porcupine.[3] The only animals that can be proved to have been killed for food at this date are the ox and the goose; but we may suspect that fish, whereof several species appear in the hieroglyphics of the time, were also articles of common consumption, as they certainly were in later times.[4] Bread no doubt was the main staff of life; and attendants carrying baskets, which appear to contain loaves, are common.[5]

The artisan class of the time must have included weavers, workers in metal, stone-cutters, masons, carpenters, upholsterers, wig-makers, embalmers, and probably boat-builders. Stone-cutting was an art very necessary in a country where the only timber tree was one which was valued both for its shade and for its fruit. For the shaping of blocks the saw and the chisel must have been very early invented; and a metallurgy of no small merit must have formed and hardened the implements whereby materials such as those employed by the Egyptian builders and sculptors were worked with ease and freedom. Granite, indeed, was not made use of at first; a compact limestone supplied its place,

[1] See the woodcut on page 37.

[2] Lepsius, pl. 4. (Two antelopes, which make a struggle to free themselves, are carried in the arms of an Egyptian, who brings them to their master.

[3] Ibid. pl. 8.

[4] Supra, vol. i. p. 66.

[5] Lepsius, pls. 5 and 7. Loaves also appear above the carriage in which Amten is seated, as at present. They are small and are arranged in two baskets (p. 5).

and contented the primitive constructors of tombs and towers. But it was not long ere Egyptian skill and inventiveness succeeded in finding means to subdue even the most intractable materials, and we shall find the Pyramid kings employing freely such stubborn substances as syenite, arragonite, red granite, and green basalt.

To conclude this brief review of a time on which the Egyptian remains throw but a dim and uncertain light, it must be noted that the hieroglyphical system of writing was already not only invented, but elaborated, the interior of the sepulchral chambers being covered with long inscriptions, which give the titles and employments, describe the domains and other possessions of the deceased, if not with the copiousness and verbosity of a later date, at any rate with considerable fulness of detail. The hieroglyphs themselves are somewhat rude and wanting in finish, but the language is said to be completely formed; the different kinds of hieroglyphs, symbolic, determinative, phonetic, are all in use; the values of the characters are fixed, grammatical modifications are indicated by signs which for the most part continued in use, and, in a general way, it may be said, that 'the hieroglyphical writing reveals itself to us in the monuments of the first dynasties with all that complication which belonged to it down to the last day of its existence.'[1]

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Ägypten und Äthiopien*, Einleitung, p. 111. 'Die ägyptische Schrift zeigt sich uns in den Denkmälern, welche wir bis jetzt kennen gelernt haben, bereits in ihrer vollständigen Ausbildung, mit allen Complicationen, welche sie überhaupt jemals erhalten hat.'

CHAPTER XIV.

THE PYRAMID KINGS.

Reigns of Senefru, Khufu, Shafra, Menkaura, and Assa of the Fourth Dynasty, and of Userkaf, Sahura, Kaka, Nefercarkara, Remaura, Menkauhor, Tatkara or Assa, and Unas, of the Fifth. Internal Condition of Egypt under these Kings. Progress of Art. Religion. Civilization and the Arts of Life.

'Pacther fugatis diu penebris.' Hor. *Od.* iv. 4. 41-42.

Historic light dawns, and truly historic personages begin to move before us, with the accession of the dynasty which Manetho styled 'the fourth.' Manetho placed at the head of this dynasty a king whom he called Soris, and though the name itself corresponds rather with the 'Sar' of the Turin papyrus, and of the tablet of Saccarah, yet, as the place assigned to him makes him debtor for the predecessor of Suphis (Khufu), it would seem that we may properly identify him with Senefru, who beyond all doubt occupied that position.[1] Senefru appears to have succeeded Huni, but to have exceeded him in the extent of his dominions.[2] He had the character of a good and beneficent king, and it is in harmony with this description of an Egyptian writer, that we find him in his lifetime taking the

[1] The succession of Khufu to Senefru is shown most clearly in the tomb of Mertisen, who was successively the favourite wife of each. (De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 57.)

[2] In the Prisse papyrus we read 'Lo! the majesty of King Huni made it, lo! the majesty of King Senefru became a benefactor to it for the *entire* country' (*Ibid.* p. 20.)

title of *neb mat*,[1] or 'lord of justice,' which was not one commonly borne by Egyptian sovereigns. Senefern is the first Egyptian monarch who has left behind him an inscription,[2] and the first of whom we have monumental evidence that he made war beyond his own borders, and established the power of Egypt over a foreign country. Thus he was great both at home and abroad; he dispensed justice to his subjects with such wisdom and impartiality as to acquire a character for benefi-

Tablet of Senefern at Wady Magharah.

[1] See the woodcut above, where the third title, , has this meaning.

[2] See Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 30-1: 'It is with the fourth Memphite dynasty that the history of Egypt begins to assume greater importance, the events recorded are no longer dependent for their remembrance on the glosses of early notices of Greek epitomists, but the monuments of the country contain exact and contemporary accounts of the events which took place.' De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 30: 'Par fait remarquer depuis longtemps que le plus ancien monument connu jusqu'ici est le tableau de la campagne du roi *Snefrou* contre les populations qui occupaient la presqu'île du Sinaï.'

ecnce, and he employed the Egyptian arms beyond his frontiers with such success that he could claim also the title of 'conqueror'.[1] It must always be with a profound interest that travellers contemplate that rock-tablet in the Sinaitic peninsula which contains his name and titles, together with a representation of his prowess as he engages with and fells a foreign adversary. The chief with whom he contends is the sheikh or prince of the *Mentu nomads*, or 'shepherds of the East,'[2] who at that time held the mountain country between the two arms of the Red Sea. Attracted thither by the mineral treasures of the region,[3] the Egyptian monarch, 'King of Upper and of Lower Egypt, as he proclaims himself, 'Lord of Justice,' and 'Vanquisher of his adversary,' carried all before him—defeated and dispersed the old inhabitants of the country, received their submission, and established a military and mining post in the heart of the region, which was thenceforth for centuries carefully guarded by an Egyptian garrison. The remains still to be seen in the Wady Maghareh show the strong fortress within which the Egyptian troops were lodged, the deep well within the walls which secured them an unfailing supply of water, and the neighbouring temples of their native deities, which even the expatriated soldiers might have the enjoyment of the worship to which they were accustomed in their own land.[4]

It is not certain that Senefern adorned Egypt with

[1] The fourth title in the inscription of Wady Maghareh, the hawk of Horus perched upon the sign for gold [illegible] is translated on the Rosetta Stone by 'vanquisher of his adversaries.'

[2] Brugsch, *Ancient Egypt* p. 31.

[3] Brugsch supposes that one of the motives of Senefern's invasion of this region (see), but most Egyptologists consider that the latter was compelled to assert his supremacy. Wilkinson, in the notes to *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 344 (3rd edit.); De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 31; Birch, *Egypt from Earliest Times*, p. 368, &c.)

[4] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 65, 1st ed.

any buildings. The Meydoum pile has been ascribed to him,[1] but scarcely on sufficient data. Various members of his family were interred in the tombs of Ghizeh, and it is in this way that we make acquaintance with his favourite wife, Meritetes,[2] his son, Nefermat,[3] his grandson, Shaf Senefern, the son of this latter,[4] and his eldest daughter, Nefert-kau, who was buried in the same tomb as her brother.[5] It has been suggested that his own mummy was perhaps deposited in the lower chamber of the Great Pyramid,[6] which in that case must be supposed to have been commenced by him, but there are no sufficient grounds for this supposition.

The Turin papyrus appears to have assigned to Senefern a reign of nineteen years. His son, Neferkat, is thought to have died during his lifetime, and Shaf Senefern, his grandson, to have been thereupon invested with the title of hereditary prince (*erpa satem sa*), which he certainly bore;[7] but the royal dignity, instead of passing to this prince on his grandsire's demise, was obtained by Khufu, , under what circumstances it is impossible to say. Khufu can scarcely have been a son of Senefern, for he took to wife Senefern's widow, Meritetes. He was perhaps a usurper, and no relation; or possibly he may have been a brother, and have inherited the throne, because Shaf

[1] By Brugsch, corrected by Mariette (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 90, 1st ed.).

[2] See a paper by M. Mariette in the *Revue Archéologique* for September, 1864.

[3] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pl. 16. De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 87.

[4] *Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pl. ii. pl. 17.

[5] The tomb, No. 50 at Ghizeh, of which a representation is given in the *Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pl. 18.

[6] De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 41, note 3.

[7] Ibid. p. 93.

Senefern was not thought to be old enough to exercise the functions of royalty when Senofern died. Suaf-Senefern seems to have held a high place at his court, and to have died, while Khufu was still living, before the accession of Shafra.

In Khufu must be acknowledged, if not the greatest of Egyptian kings, yet certainly the greatest of Egyptian builders, and a sovereign of extraordinary energy. From the conception of the step-pyramid of Sakkarah, which was the highest flight of Egyptian architectural daring at the time, to that of the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh, was so vast a stride, that the monarch who took it must be credited with a grandeur and elevation of thought approaching to genius. To more than double the height of the highest previous building, to multiply the area by five, and the mass by ten, was a venture into the untried and the unknown, which none but a bold mind could have conceived, none but an iron will could have resolved to execute. So far as conception went, Khufu may have been assisted by his architect,[1] but the adoption of a plan so extraordinarily grand, the determination to embody the conception in solid stone, this must have been wholly his own act, his own doing; and it implies a resolution and a strength of mind of the highest order. The fact must ever remain one to excite our profound astonishment, that in Egypt, almost at the commencement of its history, among a people living by themselves and deriving no instruction from without, a king—for there is every reason to believe that the whole work was

[1] Khufu seems to have employed his son, Sufkhufu, as the chief architect—at least, this son takes the title of "chief of the works to the king" (De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 11). He is buried in a tomb close to the Great Pyramid (ibid.).

begun and finished by a single monarch[1]—conceived and carried out a design so vast, completing a structure which has lasted four thousand years, which is even now among the world's chief marvels, and remains, in respect of size and mass, the most prodigious of all human constructions.[2]

A description of the Great Pyramid has been already given.[3] It must have been commenced by Khufu almost as soon as he ascended the throne, and must have been the occupation of a lifetime. Herodotus is not likely to have obtained an exactly authentic account; but his estimate of thirty years for the time consumed in constructing the pyramid itself, together with its subsidiary structures, and of 100,000 labourers as the number constantly employed upon the work,[4] is quite in accordance with the probabilities of the case, though scarcely deserving to be accepted as matter of positive history.[5] An enormous amount of unskilled human labour, gradually advancing the work by expenditure of mere brute strength, is necessitated by the circumstances of the time, and the conditions under which the pyramid was erected. A considerable employment of very highly skilled labour upon those wonderful passages and chambers, which form the true marvel of the building,[6] must also be regarded as certain, and it seems to follow that such a work could not have been carried to its completion without engaging the energies of almost the whole talent of the

[1] De Rougé has suggested that Senefern may have begun, and Khufu have completed, the Great Pyramid. *Recherches*, p. 41. But there is not such good reason for connecting Senefern with it.

[2] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 385 (quoted above, vol. i. p. 185, note).

[3] Supra, vol. i. pp. 307–308.

[4] Herod. ii. 124. The labourers are said to have been moved in three reigns so that 100,000 were employed in the service for each year.

[5] See Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 74.

[6] Supra, vol. i. p. 308.

state, as well as almost its whole labouring population, during the period of an entire generation. Great sufferings would naturally accompany such an interference with men's natural employments, and such a concentration of vast numbers upon a limited area. The construction of the Suez Canal in the years 1865–1869 cost the lives of thousands, who perished through want and disease. It cannot be supposed that it was possible in the infancy of the world's history to execute a far vaster work without similar calamities. Hence probably the ill repute which attached to Khufu, and the other pyramid-builders, in after times[1]—an ill-repute which, though falsely explained as resting upon religious grounds, was itself a fact, not doubtful nor disputable.[2]

In very truth, such constructions as the Pyramids, however they may move our admiration as works of art in their kind, utterly astonishing and unapproachable, are to the politician and the moralist unenviable instances of the lengths to which a paltry egotism will go for the gratification of self at the expense of others. All Egyptians had the same belief with respect to a future life—all equally desired the safe preservation of their earthly remains through many centuries.[3] Yet the bulk, even of the rich, were content to have their remains deposited in a deep pit, the mouth of which was closed and concealed from view by having one of the walls of the sepulchral chamber or chapel built over it. But the Egyptian kings, or at any rate the kings

[1] Herod. ii. 124–9.

[2] The general feeling of the people is shown by the story told by Herodotus, how, when Khufu and Khafra were dead, and were succeeded by Menkaura, the abhorrence in which their memories were held, [illegible] for the "Shepherds" were defeated by the Egyptians of the New Empire.

[3] See above, vol. i. pp. 317–19 and 511–14.

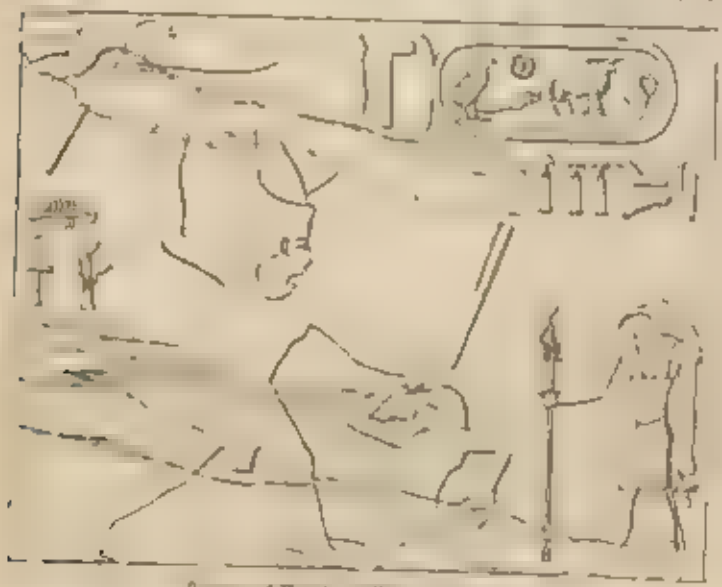
of this period, because they could command the services of their subjects, being absolute and able to employ as many of them as they chose in forced labours, would not be satisfied with the common list. Nothing less would content them than granite chambers, sealed by portcullises, and enclosed in the centre of 'artificial mountains,'[1] formed of massive blocks of stone, moved into place with sighs and groans by impressed workmen, and too often cemented with the blood of those who were maimed or crushed to death, when a block slipped, as the attempt was being made to lift and enplace it. Such accidents must have been frequent, and have occasioned a considerable loss of life, but it was easy to replace the mutilated and the killed by a fresh conscription, and so to carry out the monarch's proud design at the cost of increased suffering to his subjects. Egyptian kings did not shrink from enforcing their will at this cost. One only seems, at a certain point, to have paused in his design, and made a change, which brought his work to an earlier termination than that originally contemplated.[2]

It must ever therefore remain a reproach to Khufu, that by the extravagance of his egotism, of his vanity, and of his ambition to excel all who had gone before or should follow him, he held his people in an intolerable servitude for a longer term of years than any other Egyptian king. We possess no representation of him that can be regarded as approaching to the nature of a portrait, or we should expect to see in his countenance the lineaments of an iron will, a stern pride, and a cruel hardness, such as appear in the later pictures of the

[1] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, 3rd ed., vol. i. pp. 211–12.

[2] See the description of the contra-

first Napoleon. The only bas-relief of him which exists is one at the Wady Magharah, modelled after the earlier representation of Senefern,[1] which shows him clutching an enemy by the hair of his head, and about to deal him the death-stroke with a club or mace. The relief is in a bad state of preservation, but it appears to be thoroughly conventional, and not to aim at truthfulness of expression. Khufu has a face like



Statue of Khufu at Wady Magharah.

that of Senefern, to whom in character he presented a striking contrast.

We gather from the Wady Magharah tablet, that Khufu made two expeditions into the Sinaitic peninsula, one to take possession of the mines, on which occasion he merely set up his cartouche and his titles, ruling himself as "Khufu [hieroglyphs]. King of Upper and Lower Egypt,

[1] See the woodcut, *supra*, p. 47.

the conquering Horus,[1] and another—that commemorated on the opposite page—where he gave his name as Num-Khufu, , and represented himself as 'striking down one of the Pet or Án foreigners in the presence of the ibis-headed god, Tahuti or Thoth.'[2] Both these names are found in the Great Pyramid,[3] and, though some have supposed them to designate different individuals,[4] it seems to be now most commonly held[5] that they are merely two appellations of the same monarch, the successor of Senefern, who, having been originally called Khufu, at a certain period of his life assumed the prefix of Num or Khnum, intending thereby to identify himself with the god whom the Greeks called Knuph, one of the chief objects of worship in Upper Egypt.[6]

This fact, and some others recorded on the native monuments, sufficiently refute the legend of the Greeks[7] which represented the builder of the Great Pyramid as wholly irreligious, one who shut up the temples, and was opposed to the polytheism of his subjects. The very reverse appears to have been the fact. Khufu not only took the name of Khnum, in acknowledgment of the Lepsian deity, and placed Thoth upon the trophy of victory which he set up at Wady Maghárah, but called himself 'the living Horus,'[8] and

[1] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 98.

[2] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pl. 1. Brugsch, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii. p. 156.

[3] Arundale (*Egypt's Place* [illegible]) and Wilkinson (in the notes to *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 264, note [illegible], 2nd edit.).

[4] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 97, 98. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 69, 70, 1st ed. Lenormant, *Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 367, and Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 154.

[5] Stuart, vol. [illegible] pp. [illegible]. Mariette, as quoted *Athenæum*, vol. [illegible] p. 790, c.

[6] De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 30. It is possible that this conception may have arisen as to the [illegible] Dr Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 61, 1st ed.) pro-

actually built a temple to Isis, whom (as being Horus) he called 'his mother,' and whose image he placed in her sanctuary, attaching at the same time to the edifice an estate by way of endowment.[1] He also, if we may trust an inscription of comparatively late date, found at the temple of Denderah, furnished the plan upon which the original edifice, dedicated to Athor on that site, was built.[2] Even the Greeks[3] inform us that Khufu, notwithstanding his alleged impiety, composed a religious work entitled 'The Sacred Book,' which continued to be highly valued in after ages. The extant remains certainly bear strong witness to his religious zeal, presenting him to us in the character of the first known builder of temples, the first king who is found to have sought to gain the favour of the Egyptian gods,[4] and the first person known to have brought into use the system of religious endowments.

The family of Khufu appears to have been large. He took to wife, or his successor, Queen Meritefs, 'the widow of his predecessor,' and had by her a number of sons and daughters, whose tombs 'form a crown around his pyramid.'[5] Mer-bet, 𓄿𓂋𓏏𓅱, one of his sons, is said to have been the 'priest of Khufu's

[1] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 37.

[2] In the Great Inscription. We cannot use Brugsch's *Geographie*, vol. i. pp. 56, 57.

[3] Khufu connects with himself especially Horus and Isis. He

[4] Diodorus, *Bibliotheca*, p. 37.

[5] Ibid. p. 42. Manetho, in the first Book of *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 74, et seq.

obelisk,'[1] whereby we perceive that this architectural embellishment, although it may not have taken an important place in the great designs of architects until the time of the twelfth dynasty, was yet already known and employed in the fourth, though probably upon a smaller scale than afterwards. Sat hotep, another son, was (as already mentioned[2]) the 'chief of the works of Khufu,' and therefore most likely his head architect. A third son, Sent Khufu, was priest of Apis.[3] A daughter, Henta, , was buried under a small pyramid in immediate proximity to the great monument of her father.[4] Two other sons, Kanofi and Khemtatf, had tombs in the same vicinity.[5] Meresonkh, the wife of Shufru, is thought to have been also one of his daughters.[6]

Khufu was, according to the lists of Abydos and Saccarah, succeeded by a king named Ratatf, , who is supposed to be Manetho's 'Ratoises.' There are several monumental evidences of this monarch's existence,[7] and the place assigned to him in the lists seems to be the correct one, but his reign must have been unimportant, and was probably extremely brief to be counted not by years, but by months. At his demise, the throne was occupied by a son-in-law of the great Khufu a monarch who bore the name of Shufru or Kaufru, , the Chephren of Herodotus[8] and the Chabryes of Diodorus Siculus.[9]

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pls. 23.

[2] [illegible] p. 56 [illegible]

[3] De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 44.

[4] Ibid. p. 47. Compare Herod. ii. 50.

Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pls. 26 and 35.

[5] De Rougé, *Recherches*, pp. 57 6[illegible]

[6] These have been carefully collected by M. de Rougé, and will be found in his *Recherches*, pp. 52-4.

[7] Herod. ii. 127.

[8] Diod. Sic. i. 64.

Shafra is the first of the Egyptian kings whose personal appearance we can distinctly and fully realise. Two statues of him, in green basalt,[1] his own gift to the temple of the Sphinx, show him to us such as he existed, in life, bearing upon them as they do the stamp of a thoroughly realistic treatment. The figure of the king is tall and slender—the chest, shoulders, and upper arm well developed, but the lower arm and the lower leg long and slight. The head is small, the forehead fairly high and marked with lines of thought, but a little retreating, the eye small,

Upper portion of Statue of Shafra.

the nose well shaped, the lips slightly projecting, but

[1] I am indebted for the knowledge which the accompanying photographs afford of these statues to M. de [illegible] has been taken. The statues [illegible] are in the Museum at Boulaq.

not unduly thick, the chin well rounded, and the cheek somewhat too fat. The expression, on the whole, is pleasing, the look thoughtful and intelligent, but with a touch of sensuality about the under jaw and mouth. There is no particular sternness, but there is certainly no weakness, in the face, which is that of one not likely to be moved by pity or turned from his purpose by undue softness of heart.

Like his predecessor, Shafra must have made it the main business of his life to provide himself with a tomb that should be an eternal monument of his greatness and glory. He gave to his pyramid the name of *Ur*, 'the great,' 'the principal,' and though the inferiority of its actual dimensions[1] has caused it in modern times to receive the appellation of 'the Second Pyramid,' it is quite possible that he expected to deceive his subjects into the belief that it was a vaster edifice than that of Khufu, by the site on which he placed it. For the benefit of the ground favours such a deception. The rocky platform on which the three pyramids are built rises towards the centre, and the central position of the second pyramid gives it a marked advantage over the first, causing its summit to attain naturally a higher elevation above the level of the plain. It is attained by the pyramid of Khufu.[2] In another respect also Shafra aimed at outdoing his predecessor. Not content with the compact limestone of the opposite or Mokattam range, from which Khufu drew his vast blocks with which he revetted his

[1] De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 61. Compare the text *Histoire de l'Egypt* vol. i. p. 77 *bis* ed.

[2] See above, vol. i. p. 104 ed. 5.

[3] Ibid. p. 107. The difference in the actual height of the edifices was one of the facts in favour of the pyramid of Khufu. The base of the pyramid of Shafra was 690 feet 6 inches at the base, as against 746 feet 6 inches of the pyramid of Shafra.

enormous monument, Shafra caused his workmen to ascend the Nile as far as Elephantine, and there to quarry the hard granite of that distant locality, in order to encase, partially at any rate,[1] his own tomb with that better and far more costly material.

It is probable that Shafra also 'built the small temple behind the great Sphinx,'[2] which he certainly decorated with six statues. The peculiarity of this temple is, that it is composed entirely of great blocks of the noblest materials—red granite, syenite, or breccia—brought from the neighbourhood of Syene, or else of yellow alabaster. The stones are polished to a perfectly smooth surface, and fitted block to block 'to a hair's breadth,'[3] with a skill and an exactness that provoke the astonishment of modern architects. Similar exactness appears in the masonry of the internal chambers and passages of the pyramid of Khufu,[4] and it is beyond question that the Egyptian builders of this early period had attained to a perfect power of cutting and shaping stones of the hardest quality—a power equal to that possessed at the present day by the most advanced nations. What tools were used, what methods were employed, we do not know, and can only conjecture; but the fact is certain that the stubbornness of the hardest materials was overcome, and we may add that there is nothing in the results produced to indicate that any greater difficulty was experienced in dealing with the harder granites of stone than with the softer.

Among the titles taken by Shafra there are some

[1] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 38. Wilkinson, the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 308, note 3.

[2] Birch, *l. c.* On the other hand it is quite possible that this temple may have been an older construction and that Shafra only added to the ornamentation.

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 27, et seq.

[4] See above, vol. i. p. 318.

which are remarkable, and which seem to indicate an advance on the bold and bald presentation of themselves to their subjects as the mere Egyptian divinities, on which the kings ventured. Shafra not only calls himself 'Horus, lord of the heart,' and 'the good Horus,' but *neter aa*, 'the great god,' and *sa Ra*, 'Son of Ra,' or 'of the Sun'[1]. This famous title, , so familiar to us from the cartouches of the later Pharaohs, appears in the inscriptions of Shafra *for the first time*. To him we must therefore assign the credit, or the discredit, of having invented a phrase which, exactly falling in with the vanity of subsequent kings and the adulation of their subjects, became a standing numerable title, the necessary adjunct to the proper name of every later sovereign. Shafra also added to the ordinary royal title of 'conquering Horus' the prefix of *Khem*, either in the sense of 'master,' 'ruler,' or with the intention of attaching to himself another divine name, and claiming to be an incarnation of the god Khem no less than of the god Horus.

Shafra seems to have been married to a daughter of his predecessor, named Meri-ankh-es, or Meri-ankh-[2]. Her tomb has been found at Saccarah, and has on it an inscription, by which it appears that she bore the titles of priestess to Thoth, and also to one of the sacred animals regarded as an incarnation of deity[3]. She claims association with the 'lord of diadems,' and it is thought to be not improbable that Shafra married her rights rather than in his own[4]. It does not appear from the monuments that he was in any way related to

[1] De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 66.

[2] [illegible] p. 67 of

[3] The [illegible] pp. 41–46. It is uncertain to which of these Merianukh was priestess, as the expression used [illegible]

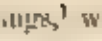
[4] De Rougé, *Recherches* pp. 65–6

[5] Thus pp. [illegible]

Khufu, or that he had in his veins any royal blood, and the conjecture is made that at this ancient epoch there was some special right of daughters to succeed their father, either in preference to sons, or in case of their being the elder children. A right of the kind is known to have obtained in Lycia[1] and other eastern countries, and the want of any indication of the succession from father to son in the monuments of this time raises the suspicion that some such practice prevailed in Egypt under the early Pharaohs. But, however this may have been, Meri-saukh was at any rate a personage of great importance in Shafra's reign. She was 'exalted to the highest degree of dignity to which it was possible for the wife of an Egyptian monarch to attain'[2] Associated with the 'lord of diadems,' she had the entire control of the royal gynæceum, or 'house of the women,' enjoyed two priesthoods, and was deep in the confidence and high in the favour of her royal consort. She bore Shafra at least two sons. One of these, who had the name of Nefer-maakhuti, is represented as his father's 'heir'[3] He was a superior priest of the order of Heh, a sacred scribe, and 'clerk of the closet' to his father. Five estates, of which he was the owner, had all been presented to him by his liberal parent, and had received names in which Shafra was an element.[4] Another son, Si-kem-ka-ra, possessed fourteen such properties,[5] and must have been one of the wealthiest landed proprietors of the time. He enjoyed his wealth for a long term of years, living to a good old age under five

[1] Herod. i. 173.
[2] W. Ros., *Recherches*, p. 50.
[3] Ibid. p. 57.
[4] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pl. 12 *b*.
[5] Ibid. pl. 42 *a*.

successive kings,[1] whose escutcheons he displays upon his monument.

The immediate succession of Menchères (Menkaura, ) to Shafra, asserted by Herodotus[2] and Manetho,[3] is indicated on the tomb of Skem ka-ra,[4] and confirmed by the table of Set. I at Abydos.[5] Yet here again we are unable to trace by means of the monuments any blood-relationship, and can say nothing of the connection between Menkaura and his predecessors beyond the fact of there having been a tradition that he descended, not from Shafra, but from Khufu,[6] the first and greatest of the pyramid kings. Born and bred up during the years when the whole thought and attention of Egypt was given to the construction of those wonderful edifices, he would have been more than human if he had not been carried away by the spirit of the time, and felt it his duty to imitate in some degree, if he could not hope to emulate, his predecessors. The pyramid on which he engaged was on a humble scale. As designed and executed by himself, it seems to have been a square of no more than one hundred and eighty feet, with an elevation of one hundred and forty-five feet.[7] A sepulchral chamber of no remarkable pretension,[8] excavated in the solid rock below the monument, contained the sarcophagus and coffin of the king. The

[1] Shafra, Menkaura, Assaukaf, Nekaf, and Sebarka, Lepsius, pl. 42. Compare De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 171.

[2] Herod. ii. 129.

[3] Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 80, D.

[4] *Denkmäler*, l. c.

[5] De Rouge, *Recherches*, pl. 2 at present Cheyduane, Nos. 23 and 24.

[6] Herod. l. c.

[7] See above, vol. i. p. 191. These dimensions are considerably less than those of the step-pyramid of Sevekhan and indicate no great falling-off of the magnificent ideas of Khufu and Shafra.

[8] That is, as compared with the remarkable chamber of Khufu (see vol. i. p. 204). Otherwise the construction is curious and worthy of notice. (Compare vol. i. p. 191.)

sarcophagus was of whinstone, and elaborate in its ornamentation.[1] The coffin, which was of cedar wood,[2] and shaped like a mummy, but with a pedestal on which it could stand upright, was of great simplicity, being adorned with no painting, but bearing on the front two columns of hieroglyphics,[3] which are thus read by the best scholars: 'O Osiris, king of Upper and Lower Egypt, Menkaura, living eternally, engendered by the Heaven, born of Nut, substance of Seb, thy mother Nut stretches herself over thee in her name of the abyss of heaven. She renders thee divine by destroying all thy enemies, O king Menkaura, living eternally.'[4] The formula is one not special to this king, but repeated on the covers of other sarcophagi,[5] and probably belonging to a ritual, though not to one of very ancient date, since the ideas embodied in it can scarcely be traced back further than the time of Menkheres himself. Before this date 'the god Anubis is mentioned in the formulas as the special deity of the dead, to the exclusion of the name of Osiris;' and the coffin-trial of Menkaura 'marks a new religious development in the annals of Egypt.'[6] The absorption of the justified soul in Osiris, the cardinal doctrine of the 'Ritual of the Dead,' makes its appearance here for the first time; and we can scarcely be wrong in assigning to this monarch an important part in the doctrinal change, whereby the souls of the just were no longer regarded as retaining

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 102.

[2] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 40.

[3] [illegible] of Menkaura's title in the Vyse's *Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. iii. p. [illegible] and one in Lepsius' *Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pt. ii. pl. [illegible].

[4] The quotations, varying in a few particulars, are given by Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 65; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. [illegible]; and Rawlinson, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 80. I have taken my own authorities where they differ, and translated the text of Lepsius where they differ.

[5] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 84, [illegible].

[6] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 61.

their individuality in the other world, but were identified, each and all, with Osiris himself, and were thought to be, at any rate temporarily, absorbed into his very being.

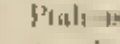
Altogether, Menephtes left behind him the character of a religious king. According to Herodotus, he re-opened the temples, which had been kept closed by Khufu (Cheops) and Shafra (Chephren), and allowed the people to resume the practice of sacrifice.[1] In the 'Ritual of the Dead' it is recorded of him that one of the most important chapters of the book was discovered during his reign by his son, Hortetef, who found it in Sesenu (Hermopolis) in the course of a journey which he had undertaken for the purpose of inspecting the temples of Egypt.[2] There is such an amount of agreement in these two notices, both of which choose to apply that this monarch paid special attention to the temples, and interested himself in the cause of religion, that we shall scarcely err in assuming a foundation of truth for the king's real moral character. Though the erection of the two pylons in front to the established worship was certainly not that imputed to them. Menephtes was himself dedicated by his name to Ra, the sun-god, and he gave his son a name which put him under the protection of Horus. We must suppose that he sent his son on the tour of inspection mentioned in the 'Ritual,' thus showing himself anxious to learn what condition the temples were in, and we may conclude that he had a mind to the contemplation of that mysterious treatise by the fact that Hortetef's discovery was the occasion of its contents.

Nor was piety the only good quality which truth

[1] Herod. ii. 136. [illegible] Egypt's ancient sons.

[2] See the Introduction at the end of this volume.

tion assigned to this monarch. He was also said to have been distinguished for justice and kindness of heart.[1] The monuments of his reign are not sufficiently abundant to enable us fully to test this statement; but it is certainly in accordance with it, that we find Mencheres singling out a youth of no high birth or connection for his special favour, introducing him as an inmate into the palace, and causing him to receive his education together with his own children.[2] The youth in question, whose name was Ptahases, retained a lively recollection of this act of kindness, and in the inscription upon his tomb took care to commemorate the gracious favour of his royal benefactor.

Mencheres was succeeded by a monarch whose name is written  , which is expounded differently by different writers, some calling it Asses-kaf-ra, some Shepses-kaf.[3] We should put the former reading. Asses-kaf's immediate succession to Mencheres is indicated alike by the tomb of Ptahases,[4] and by that of Skemkara.[5] Ptahases tells us that Asses-kaf continued towards him the kind treatment commenced by his predecessor, allowed him still to receive education in the palace with the royal children, and, when he had come to years of discretion, gave him to wife his eldest daughter, Matesha, preferring him as a husband for her to any other man. This first act of signal favour was followed up by such a multitude of others that the modern historian is driven to remark on the antiquity of the system of pluralities,[6] and the early date at

[1] Herod. ii. 129.

[2] De Rougé, *Recherches*, pp. 68-9.

[3] De Rougé prints the form Asses-kaf (*Recherches*, pp. 69-70). Brugsch the form Shepses-kaf (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 85-7, 1st ed.). Dr. Birch allows either reading (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 41).

[4] De Rougé, p. 67.

[5] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pl. 42.

[6] Birch, l.s.c.

which ecclesiastical posts were assigned to court favourites for the mere purpose of enabling their holders to draw a large revenue from benefices which they must have treated as simple sinecures. Ptah-uses was prophet of Ptahah, of Sokari, and of Athor, priest of the temple of Sokari, and of that of Ptahah at Memphis, prophet of Ra-Harmachis, of Ma, and of Horus, as well as overseer of the granaries, royal secretary, chief of the rames, and 'chief of the house of bronze.' He says that he was 'esteemed by the king above all his other servants;' and we may therefore hope that so sharp less an accumulation of offices upon a favourite as that which Ptah-uses' tomb reveals to us was unusual.

Aseskaf, like the other monarchs of his period, built himself a pyramid, and gave it the name of *Kab*, or 'refreshment.'[3] This pyramid has not at present been identified among the existing sixty-six, but it is quite possible that further research may lead to its discovery. It is probably among the group known as 'the pyramids of Saccarah,' which became the favourite burial place when the Gizeh site ceased to be thought suitable, since the enormous constructions of Khufu and Shafra could not possibly, it was felt, be exceeded, and they dwarfed all ordinary erections.

The successor of Aseskaf was Uskaf or Usarkaf,[4] , who is thought to be the Userchores of Manetho, the first king of his fifth dynasty. An unusually close correspondence is traced between the

[1] De Rougé, *Recherches* pp. 68–72.

[2] Ibid. p. 67.

[3] Ibid. p. 72. Brugsch reads the word Qabeh but gives it the same meaning (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 85, 1st ed.).

[4] Uskaf, according to Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 87), Usarkaf according to De Rougé (*Recherches*, p. 75–80) and Birch (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 47).

monumental names of this period and those of Manetho's list,[1] indicative of the fact that Manetho at this point of his history has for once obtained tolerably good information. His dynastic list consists of nine kings, who are made to occupy a space of 218 years, which, however, is probably too much. The Turin papyrus reduces the period to one of 141 years only, and even this number is most likely in excess, since as many as twenty-one years are assigned to monarchs, of whom the contemporary monuments show no traces, and who must be regarded as secondary associated princes.[2] The line seems really to have been one of seven kings only—Usarkef, Sahura, Neferarkara, Ranuser, Menkauhor, Tatkara or Assa, and Unas, and to these which it occupied seems a little to have exceeded a hundred years. If we assign to the four or five preceding monarchs[3] a similar term, we shall make a liberal allowance, and have for the entire space from the accession of Senefera to the death of Unas one of about two centuries.

It is difficult to conjecture any reason for Manetho's division of the kings of this period into two separate dynasties, one Memphite, and the other Elephantine. Nothing is more distinctly shown by the monuments than the fact, that the entire series from Senefera to Unas lived and reigned at Memphis; nor do we possess in all our ample materials the slightest trace of any break or division in the series, any change of policy, or religion, or art, to account for the fiction of two houses. It would seem that the Sebennytic priest had made up his

[1] See the Kings's table in the statutes.

[2] Vicomte de Rougé's table in the *Revue Arch.* p. 78.

[3] Senefera, Khufu, Sha'ra, Menkaura, and perhaps Ratatf, who, however, may have been a 'Cæsar' of the time of Diocletian and Constantius, and not a king.

mind to have thirty dynasties down to the close of Egyptian independence, and was not very particular how he produced them. To swell the number of years and obtain the total which he wanted, he introduced secondary associated princes into his lists by the side of the true monarchs, without distinguishing them, and from time to time he seems to have even gone the length of interpolating into his lists wholly fictitious kings. The Re-heres, Seben-heres, and Thmu-phthis, who close the fourth dynasty of Manetho, if not absolute fabrications, have at any rate no right to the place which they occupy. They are fictions *at that point* certainly;[1] possibly they are demons altogether.

The reign of Userkaf was short and undistinguished. He built a small pyramid, which he called *Tab-ser*, "the most holy of all places,"[2] and established the usual worship of his own deity in connection with it, which he committed to the charge of a priest named Khnum-hotep. In this worship he associated with himself the goddess Athor.[3] Among his other titles he took that of *Her-ari-maāt*,[4] or "Horus, the dispenser of justice," which would appear to imply that, like Senefern,[5] he regarded it as one of his chief duties to have justice carefully and strictly administered throughout the country under his rule. Only a very few monuments belonging to his reign have been as yet discovered,

[1] De Rougé says: "Il résulte de cette inscription que les trois dernières années de la quatrième dynastie dans la liste d'Abydos n'ont pas de place chronologique sur le monument. Herkhaf, Sekemkherès et Tamphthis sont évidemment intercalés dans cet endroit" (p. 78).

[2] Ibid. Loc.

[3] Ibid. p. 80.

[4] Mariette in his *Monuments Divers*, pl. 51, e) gives a representation of a royal boat in the Museum of Boulaq, where the cartouche of Userkaf is twice accompanied by this title, which is written thus:

De Rougé translates it by "le doux puissant justice" in his *Recherches*, p. 79.

[5] See above, p. 47.

but his place in the list of kings, between Aseskaf and Sahura, is certain.

The succession of Sahura to Usarkaf is sufficiently established by the tomb of Skemkara,[1] and is further supported by the tables of Sakkarah and Abydos,[2] as well as by Manetho,[3] if we admit his Sephres to represent this monarch. Sahura follows, in the steps of Senefera and Khufu, by making an expedition into the Sinaitic peninsula, where he had to contend with a new enemy, the Menta, , who had by this time become the ruling tribe in the vicinity of the copper mines. He appears in the usual attitude of a conqueror, smiting a half-prostrate enemy with uplifted mace,[4] but wears in this representation the crown of Upper Egypt only, though another figure of him, a little behind, has the other crown instead.

Tablet of Sahura at Wady Magharah.

In the text which accompanies his sculpture he calls

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pt. ii. pl. 41 *a*.

[2] De Rougé, *Recherches*, pl. i. No. 23, pl. ii. No. 27.

[3] Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 67, *b*.

[4] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pt. ii. pl. 60 *f*.

himself 'the great god, who destroys the Menti *and strikes down all nations*.' There is, however, no evidence beyond this statement, that he carried his arms into any other region besides that of Sinai, or warred with any other nation besides the Menti; and it is on the whole most probable that his military achievements were limited to this people and quarter, despite the grandiloquent terms of his inscription. The Egyptian kings of the period were decidedly not warlike, and we have no reason to suppose that Sahura was an exception to the general rule, or did more than repeat the former deeds of Khafu and Sneferu.

The only other fact recorded of Sahura is his erection of a pyramid, to which he gave the name of *Sha ba*, or 'the rising of the soul,' to mark his belief in the resurrection.[1] His building has been identified, by the occurrence of his name on some of its blocks, with the 'northern pyramid of Abousir,' an edifice of some considerable pretension. It was a true pyramid, perfectly square, each side measuring 150 Egyptian cubits, or 257 of our feet, and with a perpendicular height of 95 cubits or 163 feet,[2] being thus considerably larger than the pyramid built for himself by Menkaura.[3] Directly below the apex, and a little above the level of the natural ground, was the sepulchral chamber, roofed over in the usual way, with huge blocks set obliquely, the blocks measuring in some instances thirty-six feet by twelve.[4] The sarcophagus appears to have been of basalt, but had been demolished before the modern explorations; the chambers

[1] De Rouge, p. 81.

[2] Bunsen, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. i. p. 103, and compare the table at the end of the volume.

[3] See above, p. 63. The original Fifth Pyramid of Gizeh is now known to be later in date.

[4] Bunsen, loc. cit.

and passages are said to have been formed, in the most skilful and artistic manner, of vast blocks of limestone from the quarries of Turah.[1] The pyramid stood in the middle of an oblong court, surrounded by a low wall or peribolus.

Sahura established as priest of his pyramid an Egyptian named Ankhefenkhu, who was also priest of the pyramid of his predecessor, Userkaf, and held other important offices.[2] Sahura's worship was continued to a late date in Egypt, his priests obtaining mention in the time of the Ptolemies.[3] It is conjectured that he was the founder of an Egyptian town called Pi-sahura,[4] but not written with the characters by which it was usual to express Sahura's name. The town was near Isnu, and is mentioned in the zodiac on the ceiling of that city.

The table of Abydos places a king named Kaka, 𓎛𓏏𓄿, in the place immediately following that occupied by Sahura,[5] and, as traces of this royal name are found in the tombs of the period,[6] it is to be supposed that there was such a sovereign, or rather perhaps such a prince, who was elevated the rank of king about this time. The real successor, however, of Sahura appears to have been Nefer-ir-ka-ra, who follows him in the table of Sakkarah,[7] in the list of Manetho,[8] and in the inscriptions on several tombs.[9] We possess no par-

[1] Burton, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii. p. 93.

[2] De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 82.

[3] Ibid. p. 84.

[4] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 88 [second ed.]. De Rouge, *Recherches*, l. c.

[5] De Rouge, *Recherches*, pl. I. at the end of the volume, No. 2a.

[6] Some of the blocks in the interior of the tomb of Ti had the name of Kaka on them, roughly painted in red by the persons (De Rouge, p. 97). It occurs also in the tomb of Seschemnefer (*Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pt. ii. pl. 75), and on a vase found at Saccarah (De Rouge, p. 84).

[7] See De Rouge's table No. 24. Under the form Neferkheres (Syncell. *Chronograph.* ed. i. p. 87, B.)

[8] *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pt. ii. pls. 43–46.

ticulars of this monarch's reign which have more than a very slight claim on the reader's attention. He built a pyramid which he called *Ba*, or 'the soul'.[1] He raised to high positions the officials Ver-Khan and Pahemnuka, whose genius was literary, but on whom were accumulated various and sometimes most incongruous offices.[2] But otherwise we know nothing of him, except that he reigned, according to Manetho, twenty, or, according to the Turin papyrus, seven years.[3] His pyramid has not been recognised.

Nefer-ar-ka-ra was followed by Ra-neser, or User-n-ra, as some read the name (which is expressed as follows in the Egyptian, , who bore also the name[4] of An, . He followed the example of Sahura by making an expedition against the Menti of the Sinaitic peninsula, and represents himself at Wady Maghara in the usual form of a warrior armed with a mace, wherewith he threatens to destroy a shrinking and abject prostrate enemy.[5] He takes the praenomen of 'the great god, lord of the two lands, king of Egypt, king of the upper and lower countries, conquering Horus, and son of the Sun'. The device which he assigns is *ab het tats*, 'place of the heart (*i.e.* object of the affections) of the two lands.' Raneser built the middle pyramid of Abousir, which is the smallest of the three, having a base of no more than 271 feet.

[1] De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 80.

[2] Ibid. pp. 81–85. Ver-khan, besides being 'scribe of the palace' and 'keeper of the writings', and head overseer of pastures, was also chief of the granaries, and 'commander of the corps of recruits for the infantry service' (Ibid. p. 80).

[3] Ibid. p. 75.

[4] This is the first instance of an Egyptian king with two names, one of which was given to him when he was a child, the other his real and official name. Perhaps an earlier instance of the same custom is to be found in the name of Khufu-Khnum (Cheops) mentioned above, vol. ii. p. 446, [illegible] *Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pt. ii. pl. 102 *a*.

with an elevation of 171 feet 4 inches.[1] His sepulchral chamber occupied the usual position, in the centre of the base, and was guarded with jealous care by granite blocks and a portcullis, which, however, did not prevent the penetration and plunder of the tomb by the Mohammedan conquerors. These insatiable 'treasure-seekers' broke through the pyramid from the top, and split up with iron wedges most of the blocks which seemed indestructible,[2] disappointing the hopes of the builder, who had called his pyramid *men-nefer*, 'the (most) stable of places,'[3] and at the same time disappointing their own hopes, for they assuredly found nothing therein to repay their labours. Ramses's reign appears to have been long and prosperous. The Turin papyrus assigns him twenty-five,[4] and Manetho forty-four[5] years. A large number of magnificent tombs belong to his time,[6] and reveal to us the names, titles, and circumstances of numerous grandees of his court, who basked in his favour while living, and, by inscribing his name upon their tombs, glorified him when dead. The finest of all these monuments is that which has been called 'the marvel of Sakkarah,'[7] the tomb of Ti, [illegible]. This monument furnished to the Museum of Boulaq some of the most admirable of the portrait-statues that it possesses,[8] and is decorated with a series of elaborate painted bas-reliefs in the best style of the early Egyptian art. We gather from the inscriptions upon its walls that the noble who erected it had at the outset of his career no advantages of birth, but rose by merit and by the favour of successive sove-

[1] Ramses, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii. p. 101.
[2] Ibid. p. 102.
[3] De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 80.
[4] Ibid. p. 75.
[5] Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 58. A.
[6] *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pl. 2, pls. 55-59. De Rougé, *Recherches*, pp. 81-102.
[7] De Rougé, p. 102.
[8] Ibid. p. 4.

reigns to the highest position whereto it was possible for a subject to attain. The tomb of Ti was commenced under Kaka and finished under Ranuser,[1] who must be credited with the merit of rewarding talent and good conduct wherever he found it, whether in the ranks of the nobles or among the common people.

The immediate successor of Ranuser was Menkauhor, , who must have come to the throne when he was quite a youth, as appears by the subjoined representation of him,[2] which was found upon a slab built into one of the walls of the Serapeum at Memphis.[3]

Bas-relief of Menkauhor.

[1] De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 97.

[2] Birch says, with reference to this portrait: 'He appears to have been youthful, with a good profile and rather a full face' (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 48). De Rouge (*Recherches*, p. 98): 'Il paraît jeune, et son profil est très-fin.'

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 91. De Rouge, l.s.c.

On this monument he is called 'the good god, lord of the two lands.'[1] He wears the elaborate projecting beard commonly worn by kings in the later times, and a double chain or necklace, with a broad collar, round his neck. There are traces of a bracelet upon the left wrist. Over his head hovers the protecting hawk of Horus. Almost the only other existing monument of the reign of Menkauhor is his tablet at Wady Magharah,[2] a very unpretending memorial, with no representation of his person upon it, no claim of conquest, and no title excepting the simple one 'king of Egypt.' Menkauhor, the Menchores II. of Manetho,[3] must have died while still a young man, since his reign did not extend beyond eight, or at the most nine years.[4] He was buried in a pyramid called *ḥater ḥra*, 'the (most) divine of places,'[5] but his tomb has not yet been identified.

From Menkauhor the crown passed to Tat kau ra, or Assa , the second king with two names[6] since his immediate predecessor, he visited, in person or by his commissioners, the mines of Wady Magharah, where there had been some failure in one of the minerals on account of which they were worked.[7] The investigations undertaken by his orders were not without result; a tablet was discovered, supposed to have been written by the god Thoth, which pointed out the exact locality where the precious *mafkat* was to be found. Assa further built a pyramid which he called

[1] See the plates in M. de Rouge's *Recherches*, opp. p. 108, where I read the name.

[2] *Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pl. ii. pl. 30 *c*.

[3] Ap. Syncell. *Chronographia*, 1. 207.

[4] The Turin papyrus gives the former, Manetho the latter number. (De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 79.)

[5] Ibid., p. 100.

[6] See above, p. 73.

[7] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 48. Compare the *Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pl. 30 *d*.

simply *nefer*, 'the good,'[1] and introduced the customary worship of his own divinity in connection with it.[2] His favourite title was Sa Ra, "son of the sun."[3] The tombs of Saccarah and Gizeh contain numerous notices of him,[4] and show that, like the other kings of the period, he was fond of accumulating offices upon his favourites without much regard to their compatibility.[5]

The most interesting of the extant memorials belonging to the time of Assa is a papyrus—"probably the most ancient manuscript in the world"[6]—written by the son of a former king, who calls himself Ptah-hotep. The character used is the hieratic, and the subject of the treatise is the proper conduct of life, and the advantages to be derived from a right behaviour. Ptah-hotep states that he was a hundred and ten years old when he composed the work, and that he wrote it "under the majesty of King Assa." We shall make further reference, in the later part of this chapter, to its contents.[7]

The fifth Manethonian dynasty closes, and the period of Egyptian history commencing with the reign terminates,[8] with a monarch called Unas, 𓅱𓈖𓋴, who

[1] De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 100.

[2] Ibid. pp. 100–1.

[3] This title is found at Wady Magnara, and is also given upon a tablet noticed by De Rouge (*Recherches*, p. 1, note 1). It was not assumed at all uniformly by any of the kings.

[4] *Lepsius*, vol. iii. pl. 4, pls. 60–72, and 78–86.

[5] Inscriptions for instances will be found in the pyramid of Ranoser, Menkaura and Tatkara, "of the royal treasury," "commander of the granaries," "keeper of the records and governor of Memphis." (De Rouge, *Recherches*, pp. 101–2.)

[6] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 92, note 1.

[7] Dr. Brugsch calls him "the son of Unas (there)." De Rouge had proved, at the commencement of his *Recherches*, p. 10, since he was to be king while Unas was still alive, and when his own age was 110.

[8] See below, pp. 92–3.

[9] This is an important point. The two next divisions in the list of kings which appears in the Turin papyrus was after Unas, which there was an enumeration of the kings from the time of Menes, and of the sum total of the years

is no doubt the Onnos of Manetho.[1] He reigned, according to the Turin papyrus thirty, according to Manetho thirty-three, years.[2] No great reliance can be placed on these numbers, and the fact that his pyramid, the *Mastabat-el Faraoun*, is truncated, or in other words unfinished,[3] would seem to imply that his life came to an untimely end. The edifice is an oblong building, constructed of enormous blocks of limestone, and was named by its builder *nefer-ua*, 'the best place'.[4] Its original length from north to south was 301 feet, and its breadth 247. The height to which it had been carried up when the work ceased was no more than sixty feet.[5] There are no traces of Unas at Wady Magharah; and his reign would, on the whole, seem to have been short and inglorious.

From the brief and bald account which is all that can be given of these kings, unless we surrender the reins to the imagination, and allow ourselves to depict from fancy the scenes of their life, and their civil or military employments, we may pass once more to the general condition of Egypt during the period, and its progress in arts, in religion, and in refinement of manners.

It is the glory of the period that it carried its own proper style of architecture to absolute and unsurpassable perfection. The weak and tentative efforts of primitive times were suddenly thrown aside; and the

of their reigns. (See De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 130.)

[1] Cp. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 58. A.

[2] Ibid. Compare De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 75.

[3] De Rouge observes very pertinently: 'Si le Mastabat-el-Faraoun avait été avec pyramidion—la forme de pyramide tronquée, on ne voit pas pourquoi cette forme inappliquée à une construction de la grandeur de la pyramide *Nefer-ua*.' *Recherches*, p. 103, note. But the determinative is the ordinary complete pyramid, ▲.

[4] Ibid. p. 103.

[5] Vyse, *Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. iii. p. 53.

early kings of the period advanced by an audacious leap from buildings of moderate dimensions—not beyond the constructive powers of architects in most civilised countries—to those gigantic piles which dwarf all other structures, and for size and mass have, up to the present time, no rivals. Khufu and Shafra found builders willing and able to carry out their desires for tombs that should shame all past and reduce to despair all future architects. They found men who could carry up solid stone buildings to the height of nearly 500 feet,[1] without danger of instability, or even any increased risk from pressure or settlement. These builders were able, first of all, to emplace their constructions with astronomical exactness; secondly, to employ in them, wherever it was needful, masonry of the most massive and enduring kind; thirdly, to secure the chambers and passages, which were essential features of such structures, by contrivances of great ingenuity, perfectly adapted to their purpose,[2] and fourthly, by their choice of lines and proportions, to produce works which, through their symmetry and the imposing majesty of their forms, impress the spectator, even at the present day, with feelings of awe and admiration, such as are scarcely excited by any other architectural constructions in the wide world.[3]

It is not surprising that the extraordinary burst of architectural power under Khufu and Soufra was followed by a reaction. Fashion, or religious prejudice, still required that the body of a king should be entombed in a pyramid,[4] and from Menkaura to Unas

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 107.

[2] Ibid. pp. 107, 208, &c.

[3] Vyse, *Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. i. p. 170.

[4] We must not make the mistake of connecting this proposition, and assuming that 'every pyramid is the tomb of a king' (Wilkinson, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 72, 1st ed.). Many, it is probable, cover the bodies

every successive monarch gave a portion of his time and attention to the rearing of such a monument. But, as all felt it hopeless to attempt to surpass the vast erections which the builders of the first and second Pyramids had piled upon the rocky platform of Gizeh, they not unnaturally gave up all idea of even vying with those giants of old time, and were content with comparatively moderate and unpretending sepulchres. Menkaura set the fashion of constructing for himself a modest tomb;[1] and his example was followed by the remaining kings of the period. The monuments distinctly assignable to the later kings of Manethos fourth, and to those of his fifth dynasty, are not any more remarkable than those which may be best referred to the times anterior to Khufu.

Besides their pyramids, the kings of the fourth and fifth dynasties built temples in a solid and enduring fashion, and within the last twenty years one of these has been dug out of the sand so far as to show what were its external arrangements and general form and design. An account of this building, together with its ground plan, was given in the first volume of this work.[2] It possesses the merit of great solidity and strength, and exhibits the employment of piers for the support of a roof, the original out of which grew the column. It is altogether without sculpture of any kind, the walls being perfectly plain and flat, and deriving their ornamentation entirely from the material of which they are composed, which is yellow alabaster,

of mere private consequence. (See Herod. ii. 124.)

This would be true, even if the entire Third Pyramid were the work of Menkaura, for it is less than one-seventh of the size of the Second. But it is still more strikingly true, if we regard the original number of the pyramids (see above, vol. i. p. 344) as being the work of Mencheres.

[2] See vol. i. pp. 215-16.

syenite, or arragonite. Still we are told that the effect of the whole is good. 'The parts are pleasingly and effectively arranged;' and the entire building has 'that lofty grandeur which is inherent in large masses of precious materials.'[1]

The sculpture of the pyramid period is also remarkable. Shafra, the probable builder of the temple just described, ornamented it with several statues of himself, which at a later time were thrown into a pit or well within the building, and, for the most part, most unfortunately, broken. One, however, survives, perfect in all its parts except the beard;[2] and the upper half of another is in tolerable preservation;[3] so that the glyptic art of the time can be pretty fairly estimated. Some statues belonging to the reign of the later king, Ranoser, have also been furnished by the tomb of Ti, and afford the critic further material upon which to form a judgment. The opinion of experts seems to be, that all the specimens have considerable merit.[4] The figures are well proportioned; the faces carefully elaborated with all the minuteness of a portrait; the osseous structure and the muscles are sufficiently indicated; the finish is high, and the expression calm and dignified. There is, however, as universally in Egyptian sculpture, a certain stiffness, and an undue formality. The two feet are equally advanced; the arms repose side by side along the thighs, the head has no inclination to either side; the face looks directly in

[1] Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 106.

[2] An excellent representation of this statue may be found in the work of M. de Rougé, so often quoted (*Recherches sur les Monuments, &c.*, pp. 64–66).

[3] See the woodcut on p. 68 of this volume.

[4] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 48, 49; De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 54. 89; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 237; Wilkinson, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 78 (1st ed., &c.

front of the figure; the beard is wholly conventional. If we compare the statues in question with even the archaic Greek, we shall find them exceedingly inferior in all that constitutes the excellence of art. But it may be questioned whether Egyptian art, in the matter of statuary, ever went beyond, or even equalled, the productions of this early period. 'Art at this time,' as Lenormant justly says,[1] 'attains the most remarkable degree of perfection. It is thoroughly realistic; it aims, above everything, at rendering the bare truth of nature, without making any sort of attempt to idealise it. The type of man which it presents is characterised by something more of squatness and of rudeness than are seen in the works of the later schools, the relative proportions of the different parts of the body are less accurately observed, the muscular projections of the legs and arms are represented with too much exaggeration. Still, in this first and absolutely free development of Egyptian art, however imperfect it was, there lay the germs of more than Egypt ever actually produced, even in her most brilliant epochs. The art had life—a life which at a later date was choked by the shackles of sacerdotal tyranny. If the Pharaonic artists had preserved this secret to the time when they acquired their unequalled excellences of harmony of proportion and of majesty—qualities which they possessed to a higher degree than any other people in the world—they would have made as much progress as the Greeks; two thousand years before it was reached by the Greeks, they would have attained to the absolute

[1] As with the Aginetan marbles with Egypt took at Munich. Some fr m Branchidæ in the British Museum are more on a par with the Egyptian

[1] *Manual of Historic Ancienne*, vol. i. pp. 314, 315.

EARLY EGYPTIAN STATUES FROM MEYDOUN

perfection of artistic excellence. But their natural aptitudes were to a certain extent smothered in the cradle, and they remained imperfect, leaving to others the glory of reaching a point which will never be surpassed in the future.'

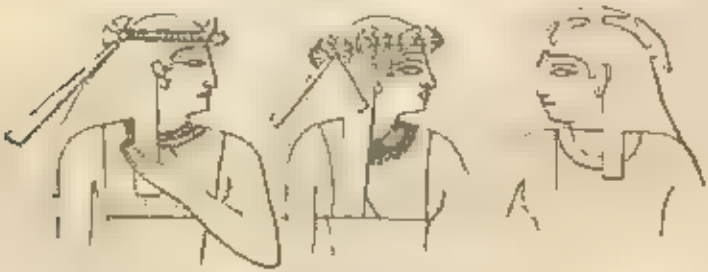
The principles laid down in this extract will apply, to a certain extent, to the bas reliefs of the period and not merely to the sculptures 'in the round.' While these fall short considerably of the later Egyptian efforts in variety, in delicacy of touch, and in vigour of composition, they have a simplicity, a naturalness, and an appearance of life which deserve high praise, and which disappear at a later date, when the inflexible laws of the hieratic 'canon of proportions' come into force, and the artists have to work in fetters.[1] Notwithstanding a coarseness and clumsiness in some of the human forms, and an occasional uncertainty in the delineation of the animal ones, the sculptures which ornament the tombs of Ghizeh and Saccarah, and which can be assigned almost with certainty to this period, are both interesting and pleasing. They show that Egyptian art is alive, is progressive, is aiming at improvement. The forms, especially the animal forms, are better as we proceed, they show greater freedom and variety of attitude, and the new attitudes are both graceful and true to nature. At the same time, there is no straining after effect; the modesty of nature is not outraged by the artists, there is still a concurrence of the simple and the conventional; the whole effect is quiet, tranquil, idyllic, we seem to see Egyptian country life

[1] Birch holds that there was a rule in force [illegible] 'canon of proportions' always, but [illegible] that at that it varied at different periods [illegible] the artists were free (*Manual*, p. [illegible]; Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 346).

continue as scanty as ever, and are represented as

Ornaments worn by Men.

either red or yellow They wear broad collars, very much like those of the men, and have sometimes brace-



Head-dresses worn by Women.

lets and anklets. The collars are commonly blue, or blue and white. The feet of the women are still in

Earliest Sandals.

every case naked; those of the men show sometimes

an incipient sandal, which is at first a mere strap passed under the heel and secured upon the instep,[1] but afterwards has a sole extending the whole length of the foot.[2]

The division of classes, and the general habits of life, continued nearly as before, but the wealth of the upper class increased, and with it the extent of their households, and the number and variety of their retainers. Large landed estates descended from father to son, of which the cultivation necessitated the employment of hundreds of labourers or slaves. These required numerous superintendents; and the general business of the farm necessitated the services of some ten or a dozen scribes,[3] who rendered their accounts to a steward or bailiff. The chief trades needed for providing the necessaries of life were established upon the estate, and the carpenter, the potter, the tailor, the worker in metal, the furniture-maker, and even the glass-blower,[4] seem to have had their place among the dependents of every opulent family, and to have worked for a single master. The estate itself consisted of two portions—arable and pasture lands; the former cultivated in grain and vegetables with great care, the latter utilised for the breeding and fattening of cattle. Domestication had by this time brought into subjection not only cows and oxen, but goats, sheep, several kinds

[1] See the *Dendereh*, vol. iii. pt. ii. pls. 14, 60 *b*. The former of these two monuments belongs to the time of Shafra.

[2] Lepsius, pl. 80 *c*.

[3] Scribes are seen at work from the time of Shafra. They have a pen or paint-brush in the right hand and one or two behind the ear. With their left hand they hold their paper and palette. They sometimes sit or squat at their work (see the *Dendereh*, pt. ii. pls. 9, 11, 19, 61, &c.).

[4] For glass-blowing, see the *Dendereh*, vol. iii. pt. ii. pls. 28 and 74, and for the other trades named see especially pl. 40 of the same work.

of antelope,[1] asses, and at least seven kinds of birds.[2] These included geese, ducks, pigeons, and cranes or herons,[3] together with other species not to be distinctly recognised. The domestic fowl was, however, still unknown, and indeed remained a stranger to Egypt throughout the entire period of independence.[4] The wealth of some landowners consisted to a large extent in their animals; we find one at a very early date who possessed above a thousand cows and oxen, besides 2,235 goats, 974 sheep, and 760 asses.[5] Pet animals were also much affected, and included, besides dogs, the fox, the hare, the monkey, and the cynocephalous ape.[6]

An important produce of the farm was wine. Vines were trained artificially,[7] and the juice was expressed from the grapes either by treading,[8] or by means of a wine-press.[9] After passing through the vat, it was drawn off and stored in amphorae. Profit was also derived from the wild creatures which frequented the marshes or the waters included within the property. Fish were caught, split, and dried in the sun,[10] after which they became an article of commerce; wild fowl were taken in clap-nets, and either killed or subjected to a process of domestication.

The ass was the only beast of burden; horses

[1] Domesticated antelopes are often rarely represented in the tombs (see *Denkmäler* pt. ii. pls. 12 *b*, 17 *b*, 23 *a*, 140, &c.).

[2] Seven kinds of domesticated birds, with their respective names, are figured on a tomb given in the *Denkmäler* pt. ii. pl. 70.

[3] Cranes or herons are also very frequently represented among the produce of a farm (*ibid.* pls. 17 *b*, 43 *c*, 60 *b*, &c.).

[4] Buch, *Ancient Egypt* p. 45.

[5] *Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pt. ii. pl. 9.

[6] Foxes appear in pls. 13 *b* 14 *c*, 15 *b*, 45 *c*, &c., hares in pls. 3, 12 *b*, and elsewhere, the common small monkey in pls. 58 *b* and *c*, and the cynocephalous ape in pl. 13.

[7] See above, vol. i. p. 107.

[8] *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 101 *a*.

[9] Ibid. pls. 13, 49, 60 *a*, &c.

[10] Ibid. pls. 12 *b* and 42.

were unknown.[1] There were no wheeled vehicles; and the burdens which the asses were made to bear appear to have been excessive.[2] For heavy commodities, however, water carriage was preferred, and the Nile with its canals formed the chief means for the transportation of farming produce. Large boats were in use from a very early period, some being mere row-boats,[3] while others were provided with masts, and could hoist a big square mainsail.[4] The number of rowers was in the early times from eight or ten to eighteen or twenty, but at a later date we find as many as forty-six.[5] When the sail was hoisted, the rowers ordinarily rested on their oars, or even shipped them and sat at their ease; but sometimes both sail and oars seem to have been employed together. A heavy kind of barge without a sail was used for the transport of cattle and of the more weighty merchandise,[6] and was propelled by six or eight rowers. Light boats were also employed to a large extent for the conveyance of animals, for the saving of cattle from the inundation, and for sporting and other purposes.[7]

The amusements of the upper classes seem to have consisted mainly in hunting, fowling, and listening to music. Dogs were still of one kind only—that which has been called the 'fox-dog' or 'wolf-dog,'[8] which has long pricked-up ears, a light body, and a stiffly curled tail.[9] This was admitted into the house, and is

[1] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 44.

[2] See the *Denkmäler* pt. ii. pls. 45 a, 47, 76, 77, 116 b, &c.

[3] Ibid. pls. 1, 12 a, 22 d, &c.

[4] Ibid. pls. 22 d, 45 a, 64 bis, &c. For a representation, see above, vol. i. p. 340.

[5] See the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 45 b.

[6] Ibid. pls. 62, 103, and 104. Compare Herod. ii. 96.

[7] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pls. 19 b, 60, 77, &c. Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 17.

[8] Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. pp. 99-100 (edition of 1878), and Birch's note.

[9] For a representation see above, page 47, and for another, see vol. i. p. 77, No. 2.

reflected as in a mirror. Delicacy may be sometimes shocked by the result; but what is lost in refinement is gained in truthfulness and accuracy of representation.

In religion there is also an advance, but one that is less satisfactory. The Pantheon increases in its dimensions. Besides the gods of the primitive time[1]—Ra, Set, Thoth, Hor or Harmachis, Osiris, Isis-Athor, Phtahh or Sokari, and Anubis—we find distinct traces of the worship of Nut, Seb, Khem, Kneph, Neith, Ma, Saf, and Heka.[2] Athor also is recognised as a substantive goddess, distinct from Isis;[3] and Sokari appears to be distinguished from Phtahh.[4] The esteem in which Ra is held has grown, and one half of the kings have appellations which are composed with his name.[5] The title *sa Ra* 'son of the Sun,' begins to be used as a royal prefix,[6] though not yet regularly. The divinity of the kings is more pronounced. They take the designations of 'the great god,' 'the good god,' 'the living Horus,' 'the good Horus,' as well as those of 'conquering Horus' and 'son of the Sun.' They add divine titles to their original names, as Khufu did when in the middle of his reign he became Num-Khufu. They institute the worship of their own divinity in their lifetime, appoint their sons or other grandees to the office of their prophet or priest, and

[1] See above, p. 38.

[2] Of Nut and Seb on the coffin-lid of Menkaura, of Khem in the name Khem-ten (De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 50) and in the title taken by Shafra (*ibid.* p. 61) of Kneph in Khufu's prefix of Neith and Ma in the mention of their prophetesses (De Rougé, pp. 80, 82; *Z. f. Ä.*, 1873, p. 43) and in the appellation *Saf-neru*, 'beloved of Saf,' applied to a certain Ahmahor (*ib.* p. 84), and of Heka in one of the cartouches of Pahemuka which includes his name (*ib.* p. 88).

[3] De Rougé, pp. 72, 80, &c.

[4] Ptah-emsa, the favourite of Menkaura and Aseskaf was priest both of Phtahh (Ptah) and of Sokari (*ib.* p. 71).

[5] Ratatf Shafra, Menkaura, Sahura, Nefarirkara, Ranuser, and Tatkara.

[6] Supra, pp. 61 and 77.

found the persons so appointed with further favours. At the same time, however, they themselves worship the gods of the country, build temples to them, and assign lands to the temples by way of endowment.[1] Priests and 'prophets' are attached to these buildings, and the 'prophets' include persons of both sexes. The doctrine of the future life and of the passage of the soul through the Lower World acquires consistence; Osiris takes his place as the great Ruler of the Dead;[2] Anubis sinks to a lower position; and the 'Ritual' receives fresh chapters.[3] Finally, the animal worship comes to the front; Apis has his priests and priestesses,[4] and a 'white bull' and a 'sacred heifer' are also mentioned as invested with a divine character.[5]

An advance is also made in civilisation and the arts of life. Dress, on the whole, continues much the same; but the tunic of the higher classes becomes fuller, so as to project in front, and utterly it is made considerably longer, so as to descend halfway between the knee and the ankle.[6] Its colour is either yellow or white, or partly one and partly the other, the yellow portion in such cases being often striped with lines of red.[7] The collars worn by men become more complicated, and have sometimes a chain and pendant attached in front. Men are also seen with fillets adorning their heads,[8] and women have head-dresses of various kinds, some of which are exceedingly elegant. Their long gowns

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[1] De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 47.

[2] Ibid. p. 65. Compare Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 41, 42.

[3] Supra, p. 83.

[4] De Rougé, *Recherches*, pp. 44, 66–81, &c. Perhaps the females attached to the worship of Apis should be called 'prophetesses' rather than 'priestesses.' Their title is *neter ḥon*, [hieroglyphs] not *ab*, [hieroglyphs].

[5] Ibid. p. 81.

[6] See the *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pt. ii. pls. 78, 79.

[7] Ibid. pls. 19, 20.

[8] Ibid. pls. 77, 97. This, however, is very unusual.

commonly seen sitting under the chair of its master: but it was also frequently employed in the chase of wild animals. The antelope was no doubt the beast chiefly hunted, and the dogs must have been exceedingly fleet of foot to have run it down: but the chase appears to have included other animals also, as hares, jerboas, porcupines, lynxes, and even hedgehogs![1] In some of the hieratic papyri, packs of hounds, numbering two or three hundred, are mentioned;[2] but these belong to a later age, under the fourth and fifth dynasties we have no evidence that any individual hunted with more than three or four dogs at a time, or indeed possessed a greater number. Dogs had names, which are often written over or under their representations,[3] *e.g.* Abu, , Ken, , Tarm, , Akna , &c., as horses had at a later time; but the other domestic pets would seem not to have enjoyed the distinction.

Fowling was practised in the way already described,[4] by entering the reedy haunts of the wild fowl in a light skiff, provided with decoy birds, probably taught to utter their note, and thus approaching sufficiently near them to kill or wound them with a throw-stick. The throw-stick of the early times is either the curved weapon common later, or a sort of double bludgeon presenting a very peculiar appearance.[5]

Music was an accompaniment of the banquet. It was always concerted, and in the time of the fourth and fifth dynasties consisted ordinarily of the harmony

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[1] *Denkmaler*, pt. ii. pls. 12 and 46.

[2] Birch in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 160, note.

[3] *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pls. 17 c, 36 a, 42 and 52.

[4] See above, vol. i. pp. [illegible].

[5] *Denkmaler*, pt. ii. pl. 12 b.

of three instruments, the harp, the flute, and the pipe. Bands numbered about four or five persons, of whom two were harpers, one or two players on the flute, and one a piper. Two or three others assisted to keep time, and increased the volume of sound by the loud clapping of their hands.[1] All the musicians were men. Sometimes dancing of a solemn and formal kind accompanied the musical performance, both sexes taking part in it, but separately, and with quite different gestures.

An amusement, but a very occasional amusement, of the upper classes at this time would seem to have been literature. The composition of the ordinary inscriptions upon tombs, and in sepulchral chambers, belonged probably to a professional class, who followed conventional forms, and repeated with very slight changes the same stereotyped phrases upon monument after monument. But, now and then, there was a production of something which approached more nearly to a literary character. The 'Book of the Precepts of Prince Ptah-hotep, though the only extant work of the kind which can be referred to this period, is probably a *specimen* of performances, not very uncommon, wherewith the richer and more highly educated classes of the time occupied their leisure, and solaced their declining years. It is stated to be 'the teaching of the governor, Ptah-hotep, under the majesty of King Assa—long may he live!' The object aimed at by the work was 'to teach the ignorant the principle of good words, for the good of those who listen, and to shake the confidence of such as wish to infringe.' It lays down, primarily, the duties of sons and of subjects, who

[1] *Denkmäler*, pls. 36 *b*, 63, 74 *c*, &c.

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[1] *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pls. 12 and 46.

[2] Birch in Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. p. 100, note.

[3] *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pls. 17 *c*, 36 *a*, 42 and 52.

[4] See above, vol. i. pp. 540–1.

[5] *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 12 *b*.

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[1] *Denkmaler*, pls. 36 *b*, 52, 74 *c*, &c.

are alike exhorted to obedience and submission. 'The obedience of a docile son,' says Ptah-hotep, 'is a blessing, the obedient walks in his obedience. He is ready to listen to all which can call forth affection, obedience is the greatest of benefits. The son who accepts the words of his father will grow old in consequence. For obedience is of God, disobedience is hateful to God. The obedience of a son to his father, this is joy . . . such a one is dear to his father, and his renown is in the mouth of all those who walk upon the earth. The rebellious man, who obeys not,' he goes on to say, 'sees knowledge in ignorance, the virtues in the vices, he commits daily with boldness all manner of crimes, and herein lives as if he were dead. What the wise know to be death is his daily life, he goes his way, laden with a heap of imprecations. Let thy heart,' he adds, 'wash away the impurity of thy mouth; fulfil the word of thy master. Good for a man is the discipline of his father, of him from whom he has derived his being. It is a great satisfaction to obey his words; for a good son is the gift of God.' And the upshot of all is—'The obedient will be happy through his obedience; he will attain old age, he will acquire favour. I myself have in this way become one of the ancients of the earth; I have passed 110 years of life by the gift of the king, and with the approval of the aged, fulfilling my duty to the king in the place of his favour.' The moral level attained cannot be regarded as high; but as a composition the work is not devoid of merit. The balance of ideas and of phrases recalls the main essential of Hebrew poetry;[1] the style is pointed and terse, the

[1] See the *Bampton Lectures* of the present Bishop of Derry, pp. 177–80.

expressions natural, the flow of the language easy and pleasing. If Ptah-hotep is not a great moral philosopher, he is a fair writer; there are passages in his work which resemble the Proverbs of Solomon or the Wisdom of the Son of Sirach.[1] We can well understand that in the infancy of literary composition, when there were no models to follow, or standards with which to fear comparison, men of education would find the *role* of author agreeable, and would devote to it a portion of their leisure time with a feeling of great satisfaction.

The advance of luxury is seen in the number and variety of the dishes served at the sacrificial feasts, where the joints may be counted by the dozen, ducks and geese by the half dozen, loaves by the score, cakes and rolls by the hundred, amphoræ by the dozen, and where the viands provided comprise also fish, fowl, onions, eggs, and fruit of a variety of kinds.[2] According to the best English authority, the Egyptian lord of this time "no more disdained the hyæna for food than a modern epicure the semi-carnivorous bear, but he abhorred that universal animal, the pig, and neglected the sheep; veal and beef, not pork or mutton, were the principal meats that appeared at his table. The

[1] As for instance, the following:—"If thou art become great after thou hast been low, and if thou hast amassed riches after poverty, and art come to be the first man in the city, if thou art known for thy wealth, and hast become a great lord, set not thy heart grow proud because of thy riches, for it is God who has given them unto thee."

2 "Despise not another who is as thou wast, be towards him as towards one of yourself."

3 Hippopotamus meat is constantly met with on tables, but a small duck

grace darkens the life of a great man."

4 "Good words shine more than the emerald which are found with the maid-servants at the hearth-stone."

5 "The wise man is surrounded with what he knows, counsel dwells in his heart, and his lips speak words that are good."

6 "Let thy face be cheerful as long as thou livest. How enviable is he who has entered the grave, coming forth from it!"

[7] *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pls. 52, 67 b, 81 a, &c.

different kinds of venison were much prized: cranes and herons he sometimes ate, but his principal poultry consisted of different kinds of ducks and geese, the chenalopex or vulpanser amongst them. The dove and the pigeon passed into his flesh-pots, nor was the inland fish of the Nile unknown to him. His bread was made of barley, but confections of dates and various kinds of biscuits or pastry diversified his diet; and of fruits he had grapes, figs, dates, of vegetables, the papyrus, the onion, and other greens. Wine and beer were both drunk at the period, in addition to water and milk.[1] Among the elegancies of the banquet was the use of flowers. Lotuses were carefully gathered by his servants in the ponds and canals, were wreathed round the wine jar and the water jar, twisted in garlands about the head of the host and his guests, decorated many of the dishes, and were held in the hand as a nosegay.[2] Instead of the stool which had contented his ancestors, he indulged not unfrequently in a couch with a low back and a square arm, on which he rested his hand or elbow.[3] When he left the house for an airing, he was sometimes conveyed in a species of palanquin, which was placed between two poles like a sedan chair, and borne on the shoulders of his servants.[4] He encouraged art, and employed sculptors on portrait-statues of himself or his wife, which were either of wood or stone, and in the latter case were

[1] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 45.

[2] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pls. 12 a, 37 a, 61, 67 a, &c.

[3] Ibid. pls. 57 b, 61 a, 69, 71 a, &c.

[4] Ibid. pls. 59 and 61 b. In the former representation the number of the bearers would seem to be twelve or the latter twenty-six. The primitive palanquin is of a ruder kind than that represented in vol. i. p. 365, which may be due to the nature of the country.

[5] See Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, p. 31, and compare the illustration on page 32. For a woman's head of this period, see Perrot's *History of Egypt*, vol. i. opp. p. 111, fig. 61.

occasionally colossal. These last were sometimes erect, sometimes sitting figures, and after completion were dragged into proper position by a number of men.[1]

The condition of the lower orders was probably not very different in the primitive and in the pyramid periods, except during two reigns. While Khufu and Shafra were on the throne there must have been considerable oppression of the poor,[2] and suffering caused thereby, through the forced labour which they must have employed, the notion the concentration of vast masses of men on particular sites, and the accidents inseparable from the erection into place of huge blocks of stone, when human rather than mechanical power was the motive force applied. But the lesser enterprises of the other kings may have been reckoned an advantage by the labouring class, as furnishing an occupation unattended with much danger, and raising the rate of wages by the demand which it produced upon the labour market. The increased wealth of the nobles, arising as it did both from the great productiveness of the soil, and from skill in its cultivation, together with success in the breeding and treatment of cattle, must also have tended to raise the agricultural position, and place it above the fear of want or even of real poverty. There is reason to believe that up to this period of Egyptian history there was no large employment of slaves, wars were of rare occurrence, and when they took place, but few prisoners could be made, for the tribes upon the Egyptian borders were more of them numerous, slaves might occasionally be bought, but these passed commonly into domestic service,[3] and the result was that both the cultivation of

[1] See above, p. 78.

[2] And see below (see xxxix. 14).

[3] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pp. 84 *bis*, b, and 134 *c*.

the soil and most of the other industrial pursuits, were in the hands of the native Egyptians, and furnished them with an ample variety of not disagreeable careers. We do not see the stick employed on the backs of the labourers in the early sculptures, they seem to accomplish their various tasks with alacrity and almost pleasure. They plough, and sow, and reap; drive cattle or asses; winnow and store corn, gather grapes and tread them, singing in chorus as they tread, cluster round the wine-press or the threshing floor, on which the animals tramp out the grain; gather lotuses; save cattle from the inundation, engage in fowling or fishing; and do all with an apparent readiness and cheerfulness which seems indicative of real content. It is true that the sculptures are not photographs; they *may* give a flattering picture of things, and not represent them as they were; but we do not generally find that oppressors care to conceal their oppression, or to make out that the classes which they despise are happy under their yoke. Add to this, that the Egyptian moral code required kindness to be shown towards dependents,[1] and the conclusion would seem to be at least probable, that the general contentment and cheerfulness of the labouring classes, which we seem to see in the sculptures of the pyramid period, was a reality.

[1] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 60.

CHAPTER XV.

THE SIXTH DYNASTY—CULMINATION AND DECLINE

Marked Division between the Fifth and Sixth Dynasties—Shift of Power to the South First Instance of a united Egypt Group of four Monarchs Teta, Pepi, Merenra, Neferkara Probable Position of Ati Reign of Teta Reign of Pepi First great Wars Reflections to which it gives rise—Pepi's Tyranny and Fall—Position of Upper Egypt Events of Pepi Reign of Merenra Reign of Neferkara Traditions respecting Nitocris Sudden Decline of Egypt at the Close of the Sixth Dynasty Continuation of the early Egyptian Art, and Advance of Civilization under it

"La première civilisation de l'Égypte finit avec la sixième dynastie."—DESCRIPTION DE L'ÉGYPTE, *Antiquités Descriptions*, vol. i. p. 347.

Both Manetho and the author of the Turin papyrus regarded the death of Unas as constituting a marked division in Egyptian history. Manetho, who made the fifth dynasty Elephantine,[1] declared the sixth to be Memphite,[2] thus affirming a separation of locality, and so probably of blood, between the two. The existing remains confirm the fact of such a separation, but exactly invert Manetho's local arrangement, connecting—they do it in the strongest way—the monarchs of the fifth dynasty with Memphis and Lower Egypt,[3] which they much those of the sixth to Middle and Upper Egypt,[4] and exhibit them as at any rate visiting Elephantine,[5] if not making their court there. The Turin papyrus is

[1] Syncellus, *Chronographia*, p. 57 D.

[2] Ibid. p. 58 A.

[3] *Ta Nuvers Recherches*, pp. 70–7.

[4] Lepsius, *Chronologie der Aegypter*, p. 114. Compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 60, and Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 51.

[5] *Inscriptions of the Sinai*, part ii. p. 4.

content to draw a strong line of demarcation at this point, without expressing the ground of it. On the whole, it would seem to be certain that, down to the death of Unas, Memphis was the great seat of Egyptian empire; while with the accession of the sixth dynasty there was a shift of power to the southward. Abydos, or some place in its neighbourhood, became the residence of the kings; the quarries of El Kab and Hammamat were worked instead of those of Mokattam; the vicinity of Abydos became the great burial place of the time. There was, however, no disintegration of the empire; Memphis continued subject to the kings who ruled in Middle Egypt, and both the extreme north and the extreme south owned their power. Their monuments are found at Tanis and at Assouan, as well as at Hammamat, El-Kab, and Sinai of Mount, and they were evidently masters of Egypt in its widest extent, from 'the tower of Syene' to the Mediterranean.

What was the extent of the Egypt ruled by the great pyramid kings and the other monarchs of the fourth and fifth dynasties is more doubtful. As these monarchs worked the mines of Wady Maghrah, we must suppose them to have held under their sway the entire low tract east of the Nile from Memphis to the Syrian Desert; and they *may* have been masters also of the Delta, and of the Nile valley as far as the cataracts. But it is important to note that we have no proof that they were. The monarchs of what we have called 'the Pyramid period' are only proved to have possessed the tract about Memphis, and the line of country connecting that tract with the mines of Wady

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt, Denkmäler*, vol. iv. pt. ii. pls. 105-vol. i. pp. 98–101, 1st ed., Lepsius, 117.

Magharah—there are no memorials of them in the Delta, none in Upper Egypt,[1] none even in Middle Egypt—and it is possible that those tracts were not under their rule. With the sixth dynasty we have the first evidence of a united Egypt, of monarchs who reign over the entire Nile valley from Elephantine to the maritime tract bordering upon the Mediterranean Sea.[2] At the same time we come upon the first evidence of a decidedly martial spirit,[3] of expeditions on a large scale, of elaborate military training, of the attention of the nation being turned to arms from agriculture. It is a reasonable conjecture that the kings of the sixth dynasty, more warlike than their predecessors, may have been the first to make that united Egypt which we find existing in their day, and that their foreign conquests may have been the result of a previous internal consolidation of the Egyptian power in its own proper territory.

The sixth dynasty is mainly composed of a group of four monarchs, who bore the names of Teta, Pepi or Merira, Merenra, and Nefer-kara.[4] The last three were near relations—Pepi being the father of both Merenra

[1] No doubt the granite quarries of Assuan, and the pyramids and tombs of Gizeh, were built by these kings, and must have been planned from Upper Egypt; and the fine engravings of the two monarchs make it possible that their authority extended to Syene, but this probably falls considerably short of proof. It is even possible that they imported the granite from the sepulchres of other ancient kings.

[2] It is conceivable, however, that even at this time there may have been independent kings in the western part of the Delta at Sais, for instance, or Xois, or even at Sebennytus (Somenuti).

[3] The only substitutes of war furnished by the tomb of Una are the quarries of Syene, Koptos, and Sabaea at Wady Magharah, and the mention of certain military engines (the Teuges, *Records*, pp. 140-143 Ante).

[4] These four monarchs form a connected group, on the monuments (De Rougé, pp. 148-9), and in the tale of Sanehat. The inscription of Una closely unites three of the four, Teta, Pepi, and Merenra. *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 8 and 9.

and Neferkarā, who succeeded in due order to their father's sovereignty. Whether Teta belonged to the same family is uncertain. The Egyptian kings of the early period very rarely note their relationship one to another,[1] and it is quite an exceptional circumstance that we are able to trace the family connection of three consecutive monarchs in this dynasty.

Besides the four chief monarchs of the time, around whom the history clusters, we have three other monumental names, apparently belonging to the same period, the exact position of which in the list it is difficult to determine. These are Ati, Userkarā, and Inibsōphis. Ati, , appears in an inscription at Hammamāt, set up in his first year,[2] which shows him to have built a pyramid called Baiu, or that 'of the souls.' In style the inscription so closely resembles those of other kings of this time that it is supposed to prove him a monarch of the dynasty,[3] though probably one whose reign occupied but a short time and was not of any importance. What exact position should be given him is open to question. Some critics, assimilating his name to that of the Manetho-man Othoes, are inclined to put him first, and to regard him as the founder of the sixth dynasty.[4] Others would give him the second place in the dynasty, directly after Teta,[5] in which case it would be natural to regard him as identical with Userkarā, , to whom the tablet of Seti I. at Abydos assigns

[1] Each king was absorbed in the greatness of his own position as the direct representative of the human principle. The kings generally made mention of their predecessors and even carried in their Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pl. 116 *f.*

[2] De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 140.

[3] As he was not (Record of the Past, *Ancient Monuments*, vol. i. p. 130).

[4] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 97, last ed. De Rougé (*Classification*, p. 20) thinks Ati may have held a similar position.

that position. Inhotep, , might in that case be relegated to the period following Neferkara, if indeed he were really a king of Egypt, which scarcely appears from his inscription.[1]

Omitting from further consideration these insignificant and doubtful monarchs, we shall regard the sixth dynasty as consisting of four chief kings—Teta, Pepi (=Merira), Merenra, his son, and Neferkara, Merenra's brother, and of a single queen, Nitocris (Net-akert), who terminated the series.

Teta, , who succeeded Unas, either directly or after a very short interval,[2] was not a man much of my distinction. He built a pyramid which he called *Tet-sen*,[3] 'the (most) lasting of places;' and he conferred favours on an officer named Sabu, or Abetu, whom he made his companion in his voyages, and otherwise distinguished above all the rest of his courtiers.[4] He also must be allowed the credit of having recognised the promise of more than ordinary talent in a youth of the official class named Una, whom he selected from the mass of candidates, and attached immediately to his person. Una, who became the right hand of Teta's successor, Pepi, and of Pepi's son, Merenra, received his first promotion from King Teta, who conferred upon him the dignities of 'crown bearer,' 'superintendent of the storehouse,' and 'registrar,' or 'sacred scribe, of the docks.'[5]

Pepi, the probable successor of Teta, received in

[1] *Ancient Egypt*, 1883, pt. ii. p. 115. The name has the cartouche, certainly, but it is not preceded or followed by any royal title.

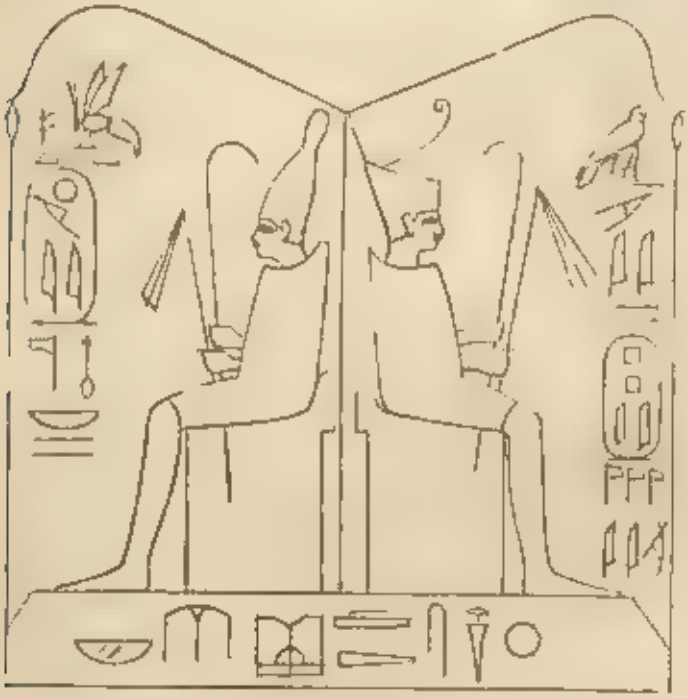
[2] Una's inscription (*Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 3) is sufficient proof of this.

[3] Or 'Tet-setu,' according to Brugsch (Hist. Its position is at present unknown.

[4] Inscription of Una, *Records*, pp. 110-11.

[5] *Records of the Past*, l.s.c.

the two names of Pepi, , and Merira, , by which he seems to have designated himself mother-entry. In one tablet[1] we see two representations of him, seated back to back, and accompanied by inscriptions equally descriptive of royalty, in one of which the name Pepi, and in the other the name Merira, is



Tablet of Pepi.

attached to the 'image of his majesty.' Pepi had a prosperous and a long reign, though certainly not the hundred years assigned him by Manetho,[2] since Una,

[1] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pt. ii. pl. 116 a.

[2] Ap. Syncel. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 58, a. This has generally been understood to be Manetho's view, according to Africanus. Eusebius,

who was grown to manhood and held high office in the reign of his predecessor, outlived him by several years, and was after his death in the employment of his son and successor.[1] His eighteenth year is the highest mentioned on the monuments;[2] but it is probable that he reigned longer. Pepi is the first king of Egypt who exhibits a marked warlike tendency. In his second year[3] he made an expedition against the Menti, who had recovered possession of the Sinaitic peninsula, and, having reduced them, set up his tablet in a somewhat unusual form[4] on the rocks of the Wady Maghrah. Not long after, he turned his arms against the Amu and the Herusha, two peoples living in the sands of the desert to the east of Lower Egypt.[5] Regarding these enemies as really formidable, Pepi exerted himself to collect and drill an army of unusual size, counted by tens of thousands.[6] His first levies were made in the north among the native Egyptians: but looking upon the forces thus raised as insufficient, he determined to obtain the strength that he deemed requisite by calling on the negro tribes of the south to furnish him with a contingent. The date at which these tribes were made subject to Egypt is uncertain, but it was clearly before the time of Pepi: and his power over them was so completely established that he

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however makes Manetho say that Pepi succeeded to the throne at the age of six and lived to be a hundred (ib. 58, 1).

[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 9, 10.

[2] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. iv. pt. ii. pl. 116 a.

[3] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 53. *Denkmäler* as above.

[4] The tablet consists of two parts. In the left-hand compartment Pepi is represented as king of Upper Egypt slaying one of the Menti, in the right-hand one he appears as king of Lower Egypt, but uses the same form and name.

[5] See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 180, 1st ed. (or pare De Rougé's *Recherches*, p. 123, and Birch (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 52).

[6] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 9, line 14.

had only to demand troops and they were furnished. From Areret, from Zam,[1] from Anam, from Uasat, from Kanu, and from Tatam, the swarthy bands gathered themselves together, and entering southern Egypt placed themselves at the disposition of the Pharaoh. They were no doubt a wild and disorderly crew, and it was of the first necessity to set officers over them, and subject them to a course of drill, in order to render their services of any value. The persons entrusted with this duty were a somewhat motley assemblage. They consisted of 'the nomarchs, the chancellors, the close friends of the palace, the superintendents, the rulers of the nomes of the North and of the South, the superintendents of the gold region, the superintendents of the priests of the South and of the North, the superintendents of the register, and of various other officers of the South, and of the North, and of the cities.'[2] Whether the drill which took place under their auspices was effectual or not it is impossible to say. The troops, however, when regarded as sufficiently trained, were concentrated. Una, the official above mentioned, and the first man of the campaign, prepared the commissariat, 'wearing out his sandals' in his assiduous performance of the task allotted him; after a march of some considerable length, the country of the Herusha was reached, and the war began. 'The warriors came,' says Una, 'and destroyed the land of the Herusha, and returned fortunately home; and they came again, and took possession of the land of the Herusha, and returned fortunately home; and they came and demolished the fortresses of

[1] So Brugsch reads the word (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 100, 1st ed.). Others give the name as 'Nam' (*Records of the Past*, vol. i. p. 41, line 15).

[2] *Records*, vol. i. p. 5. Compare De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 124.

the Herusha, and returned fortunately home; and they cut down the vines and the fig trees, and returned fortunately home; and they set fire to the houses, and returned fortunately home, and they killed the chief men by tens of thousands, and returned fortunately home. And the warriors brought back with them a great number of living captives, which pleased the king more than all the rest. Five times did the king send me out to set things right in the land of the Herusha, and to subdue their revolt by force: each time I acted so that the king was pleased with me.'[1] Even yet, however, the war was not over. The enemy collected in a tract known as Tashebu, to the north of their own proper country, and took up a threatening attitude. Once more the Egyptian army was sent against them, this time conveyed in boats, and gained a complete victory; the country was subdued to the extreme frontier towards the north, and acknowledged the supremacy of Pepi.[2]

The locality of this campaign is somewhat doubtful. It has been regarded as either Syria or some portion of Arabia Petræa,[3] and Pepi has been supposed to have sent his troops to their destination *by sea*.[4] But the latest critic suggests a district of the Delta as the true scene of the struggle, believing that the more northern portion of this tract, the country round Lake Menzaleh, was at this time occupied by the ancestors of the Bedouin tribes who now inhabit the desert of Suez.[5] In this case the boats employed would merely have descended the Nile, or have traversed portions of the lake just mentioned.

The circumstances of the expedition give rise to

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[1] De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 125.
[2] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 8.
[3] De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 127.
[4] Ibid. p. 126.
[5] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 101, 1st ed.

certain reflections. In the first place, it is remarkable that we find the negro races of the south already subdued without any previous notice, in any of the Egyptian remains, of the time or circumstances of their subjugation. One writer, seeing the difficulty, boldly states that 'Pepi reduced these enemies to obedience,'[1] but this fact, which is not mentioned by any authority, has been evolved out of his inner consciousness. We find the negroes already obedient subjects of Pepi when they are first mentioned as coming into contact with him, and his enrolment of them as soldiers to fight his battles would seem to imply that their subjugation had not been very recent. It is necessary to suppose that some monarch of the fourth or fifth dynasty had made them Egyptian subjects, without leaving behind him any record of the fact, or at any rate without leaving any record that has escaped destruction.

In the next place, it may raise some surprise, that, when there is a mention of so many nations as near neighbours to Egypt upon the south, nothing is said respecting the Cushites or Ethiopians. In later times Cushite races bordered Egypt on the south, and fierce wars were waged between the Pharaohs and the Ethiopian monarchs for the mastery of the valley of the Nile. But in the time of Pepi the Cushites were evidently at a distance. The conjecture is made that they had not yet immigrated into Africa, but still remained wholly in their original Asiatic seats, and only crossed at a later date, by way of the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, into the tract upon the middle Nile which they subsequently inhabited.[2] But perhaps this is too violent a supposition. The negro races mentioned in the in-

[1] Lenormant, *Manual of History Ancient*, vol. i. p. 344. [2] Ibid.

scription of Una need not have inhabited a very large tract of country; and the Cushites may have held all Abyssinia without obtaining mention in the inscription of Una or even attracting the attention of Pepi.

Thirdly, the question may be asked, Who were the Herusha? De Rouge translates the word 'lords of the sands,' and suggests that they were a Syro-Arabian race,[1] but can give no geographic or other illustrations. Of course, if the word is Egyptian and descriptive, not ethnic, it is in vain to look for parallels to it among real ethnic appellatives. Later mentions of the Herusha place them towards the north, and give them a productive soil,[2] such as can scarcely be found in this direction nearer than Palestine.

Like his predecessor, Teta, and like most monarchs of the fourth and fifth dynasties, Pepi constructed a pyramid, to receive his remains when he should pass from earth. The name which he gave to it was Men-nefer, 'the good abode'—the same designation as that of the old capital, Memphis, which had now probably ceased to be the residence of the court. The white stone sarcophagus, which he intended to occupy the sepulchral chamber of this edifice, and which no doubt ultimately received the royal mummy, was conveyed by Una, at his order, from the Mokattam quarries in 'the great boat of the inner palace,' with its cover, a door, two jambs, and a beam or pedestal, to the site chosen for the tomb. Other works assigned to Pepi are repairs to the temple of Athor at Denderah,[3] and one or more edifices at Tanis in the Delta, which he adorned with blocks of pink syenite brought from

[1] *Recherches*, p. 127, note.
[2] *Records of the Past* vol. vi. p. 119.
[3] Ibid. vol. ii. p. 3.
[4] De Rougé, *Recherches* p. 110, note.

the quarries of Upper Egypt.[1] He also caused sculptures to be carved on the rocks of Wady Magharah[2] and Hammamat;[3] and made use of the quarries of El Kab,[4] where numerous inscriptions contain his name, and record his greatness. It was probably in connection with these many works that Pepi received with such extreme satisfaction the prisoners taken by his troops in their campaigns against the Herusha; he obtained thereby a most welcome addition to the body of labourers which was engaged constantly in his buildings.

The titles assumed by Pepi possess in some cases a peculiar interest. Besides the usual epithets of 'King of Egypt' and 'lord of the double diadem,' he calls himself 'lover of the two lands,' 'lover of his race,' 'son of Athor, mistress of Dendérah,' 'lord of all life,' and 'the triple conquering Horus.' The 'two lands' are no doubt Upper and Lower Egypt, and the 'race intended' may be either his own family or the nation of the Egyptians; the claim to be 'son of Athor' recalls the similar claim of Khufu, who, like Pepi, adorned the temple of that goddess at Dendérah;[5] 'lord of all life,' though not a usual title,[6] is one to which we can quite understand an Egyptian king laying claim, the only title difficult to explain is that of 'the *triple* conquering Horus,' which does not occur either earlier or later. De Rougé, who notes that many of the later kings assume the title of 'double conquering Horus,'

[1] De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 115.
[2] See above, p. 4.
[3] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 116 *a*, *c*, *f*.
[4] Ibid. pl. 117.
[5] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 68, 1st ed.
[6] Pepi takes it again at Wady Magharah (*Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 116 *c*), and it is assumed also by Hannusu (ib. pl. 152). Compare Pual-he-pi's assumption of it by the side of two kings (supra, p. 85).

in connection with their sway over the two Egypts,[1] suggests that the 'triple Horus' of Pepi contains an allusion to his having extended his rule over the negro territory south of Upper Egypt:[2] but it is perhaps more probable that a triple division of Egypt itself is glanced at,[3] and that Pepi, who held his court in Central Egypt—the later Heptanomis—meant to indicate his sovereignty over the Delta and the Thebaid, as well as over that region.

The glories of Pepi's reign were, it is probable, due in some degree to his ministers. Una, who had owed his first elevation and promotion to Pepi's predecessor, Teta, continued in high favour during the whole of Pepi's reign, and held under him a number of most important appointments. He was 'prophet of the royal pyramid,' 'royal secretary' and 'keeper of the secrets,' 'sole companion,' 'superintendent of the dock,' and 'superintendent of the land of Khent.'[4] After being employed in the procuring of the royal sarcophagus with its appurtenances, he was given a commission of a military character, which associated him closely with the various expeditions against the Herusha, and gave him some ground for claiming the final success as his own.[5] Ankh Merira, buried at Saccarah, was 'governor of the quarries opposite Memphis,' and 'chief director of public works' under Pepi: Pepi-Nekht was 'chief *hab*' and 'governor of the town of the pyramid'.[6]

In his family relations Pepi was fairly fortunate

[1] *Recherches*, p. 110. He calls [illegible] the two Egypts' [illegible] See the *Dictionnaire*, pp. 1, p. 2 *bis*.

[2] *Recherches*, p. 117.

[3] On the recognition of the division see above, vol. I. p. 25, note 1.

[4] *Records of the Past*, vol. I. pp. 3, 4.

[5] Ibid. p. 6 *et seq.*

[6] Dr Brugsch, *Aegyptologie*, p. 120.

His first wife, Amtes,[1] appears indeed to have died before him; but he did not prove inconsolable. He contracted a second marriage after a time with Ankhnes-Merira, a noble lady, though not of royal birth, who bore him at least two sons, Merenra and Neferkara, and outlived him by several years. Ankhnes-Merira was buried in the cemetery of Abydos; and her tomb bears an inscription, in which she is called 'royal wife of Merira, great in favour, great in grace, great in all things, companion of Horus, mother of Merenra, king of the two Egypts; and mother of Neferkara, king of the two Egypts.'[2] Her father, Khui, was loaded with favours by his son-in-law and his grandsons, who made him 'chief of the town of the pyramid,' 'lord of the diadem,' 'commander of the great men both of the North and of the South,' 'commandant of the chief cities of Lower Egypt,' and 'chief of every dignity in things divine.'[3]

On the death of Pepi, Mer-en-ra, 𓂋𓏏𓇳𓂝𓊹, the elder of his two sons, became king. Merenra's disposition seems to have been altogether peaceful. Scarcely had he mounted the throne when he gave directions to Una, whom he had made governor of Upper Egypt, to employ himself in the quarrying of blocks of stone for the pyramid, Sha-nefer, which he was bent on constructing for his own tomb, and in the obtaining of a handsome sarcophagus, together with a granite doorway and doors for the sepulchral apartment of the pyramid.[4] This commission executed, Una was immediately ordered to procure a great slab of alabaster

[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 4.

[2] See M. le Page's *Recherches*, pp. 130-1, where the inscription is given at length.

[3] Or 'head of the sot-en-sacerdotal order,' as Le Page explains (ibid. p. 132).

[4] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 7.

from the quarries of Hat-nub (Ombos?), to form a sepulchral table or altar,[1] such as appears commonly in the representations of the sacrificial feasts in tombs. At the same time he was required to begin the construction of docks in the country of the Ua-uat, which were no doubt connected with the Nile, and were intended to shelter the transports which it was necessary to employ in the conveyance of the granite needed for the royal pyramid. Wood was plentiful in the Ua-uat country and its neighbourhood; the negroes were friendly; and the chiefs of Areret, Cha-nat, Aa-nam, and Mu furnished timber in such abundance that four transports—probably great rafts[2]—were constructed in the course of a year. These were loaded with the granite blocks prepared for the pyramid, and, safely passing the cataracts at the height of the inundation, conveyed their burden to the site which Merenra had chosen.[3] It was probably during the progress of Una's labours that the king in person visited the quarries of Assuan near Elephantine, and set up the tablet, still to be seen in that locality, on which he distinctly states that "the king himself both came there and returned."[4]

It is thought that Merenra did not reign very long.[5] He was succeeded by his younger brother Neb-ka-ra, Ju, to whom the fragments of the Turin papyrus appear to assign a reign of twenty years.[6] He too made a pyramid, to which he gave the name of Men-

[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. x. p. 7.

[2] Sixty cubits long by ten wide, according to Brugsch's *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 116 (2nd ed.).

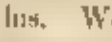
[3] *Records of the Past*, vol. x. p. 8. Sir Baker is of opinion that this implies a considerable alteration in the condition of the Nile waters about the site of the First Cataract in ancient and modern times. (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 64.)

[4] *Records of the Past*, vol. x. p. 11; and Chabas, *Les Inscriptions de Rouge, Recherches*, p. 1 ff.

[5] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 58.

[6] See De Rouge, *Inscriptions*, p. 102.

ausb, 'the abode of life,' in order to show that she really, and not death, dwelt in the tomb. Neferkara maintained the Egyptian dominion in the Sinaitic peninsula, and sent a commission there in his second year, which consisted of twelve persons, who have left a memorial which is still to be seen upon the spot.[1] It is remarkable that this memorial places the king and his mother almost upon a par, as if they were both reigning conjointly. Neferkara is characterised as 'King of the two Egypts, master, and conquering Horus, his mother as 'royal wife of Merira, king of the two Egypts, and royal mother of Neferkara, king of the two Egypts.'[2] She appears to be figured upon the rock,[3] while he is not figured at all; and altogether her position on the tablet is quite as important and prominent as his. We seem here to have evidence that female influence was making itself felt in Egypt more than formerly; and that the way was being paved for the admission, as constitutional,[4] of exclusive female sovereignty.

The succession after the death of Neferkara is doubtful. The contemporary records fail at this point; but Manetho,[5] Herodotus,[6] and the Turin papyrus,[7] agree in referring to about this period a queen called Nitocris,  , the only Egyptian female to

[1] *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 110 a (right-hand compartment).

[2] See Lepsius, *Ueber Sechemchet*, p. 20.

[3] *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 110 a (right-hand compartment). The female figure with a flail is most probably Queen Nitocris-Merira-ankhes.

[4] The Manethonian statement that Nitocris was the last of the race of queens to succeed to the throne, cannot be regarded as of much weight, more especially as no parallel case is said to have occurred.

[5] Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 66, b.

[6] Herod. ii. 100.

[7] See the note of Wilkinson on the above passage in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 142, 2nd edit. Compare De Rougé, *Recherches*, &c.

whom a sole reign is assigned; and modern critics are inclined to accept the reign as a fact,[1] and as belonging to this dynasty. The chief event of the reign, if it be admitted as historical, is the completion of the third pyramid, begun by Mencheres. Manetho makes Nitocris its builder,[2] Herodotus, who assigns it to Menkaura (Mycerinus), reports a tradition, as prevalent,[3] which made it the work of a woman. The peculiar construction of the pyramid lends itself to the theory that in its present shape it is the work of two distinct sovereigns.[4] If Nitocris is to be regarded as really the finisher of the edifice, she must be considered a great queen, one of the few who have left their mark upon the world by the construction of a really great monument. The pyramid of Mencheres, as designed and erected by him, was a building of but moderate pretensions, considerably less than many of those at Abousir and elsewhere,[5] which have conferred no fame on their constructors. It was the addition made to the pyramid by its enlarger which alone entitled it to take rank among 'the Three,' that, ever since the time of Herodotus, have been separated off from all other edifices of the kind, and placed in a category of their own. It was, moreover, the casing of the enlarged pyramid, which was of a beautiful red granite up to half the height,[6] that caused this pyramid to be especially admired, and the casing was necessarily the work of the later builder.

[1] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 345. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 107-9, 1st ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 64.

[2] Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* l.s.c.

[3] Herod. ii. 134.

[4] See above, vol. i. p. 104, and compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 78, 1st ed.

[5] As those of Sahura and Ranoser (supra, pp. 71 and 76-4).

[6] Herod. l.s.c. (Compare Vyse, *Pyramids of Gizeh*, vol. iii. p. 130.

The other traditions attaching to the name of Nitocris, resting as they do on the sole authority of Herodotus, can scarcely be regarded as historical. She is said to have succeeded a brother, who had been murdered by his subjects, and to have avenged his death in the following extraordinary fashion:—'Having constructed a spacious underground chamber, under pretence of inaugurating it, she invited to a banquet there those of the Egyptians whom she knew to have had the chief share in her brother's murder, and, when they were feasting, suddenly let the river in upon them by means of a secret duct of large size.' Having so done, she smothered herself in a chamber filled with ashes, to escape the vengeance which she regarded as awaiting her. It is difficult to imagine that any sovereign would, under any circumstances, have pursued so roundabout a method of avenging a predecessor; it is certain that the Egyptians were wholly averse to suicide; such a suicide as that related has no parallel in mundane history, and is about as unlikely a death for any one to select as could be imagined.

Still, it is thought that, however incredible the details, they may yet mark an historic fact, viz., that about this time 'murder and violence prevailed in the Egyptian kingdom': there were many 'competitors for the throne, and their rivalry produced convulsions, amid which 'the vessel of the State continually approached nearer and nearer to destruction'—the monarchy was disintegrated, several small kingdoms were formed; civil war raged, and monuments wholly ceased; it was only after a considerable interval—an interval which there are no means of measuring[1]—that once more a

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 107 (Eng. ed.).

[2] Manetho's statements furnish the sole basis for any reinstatement of

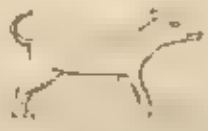
flourishing community arose in Egypt, located in a new place, which has left undying traces of itself in tablets, brick pyramids, rock sculptures and *stele* or tombstones, and is the not unworthy successor of the earlier kingdom, which can be traced, almost without a break, from Senoferu to Nitocris.

Before, however, the decline set in, the early civilization reached its culminating point under the kings of Manetho's sixth dynasty. Some of the best Egyptian statues, as one on which the gallery of the Louvre especially prides itself, are of this period.[1] The subjects of the bas reliefs, the modes of representation, and the general drawing of the figures are much the same as during the previous dynasties; but the treatment is in some respects better. True relief occasionally takes the place of the peculiarly Egyptian *cavo-rilievo* of the earlier time,[2] where the whole outline is deeply incised, with a hardness of effect that is unpleasing. Something more of freedom is also observable in the animal forms, and something more of life and action in the human figures.[3] Architecture, however, does not advance; the best pyramid of the period—that completed by Nitocris upon the nucleus afforded by the small construction of Menthesuphis—is very inferior, both in size

[1] See particularly the *Dukhadher*, pl. 11, in Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. [illegible]

and constructive skill, to the great monuments of Khufu and Shafra. There are no temples now remaining which can be referred to the time,[1] nor is there any novelty in the plan or ornamentation of the tombs. The forms of the gods are still absent from the "eternal houses," though they appear on the sculptured tablets of the kings.

In the arts of life we observe two or three small advances. Stools are for the most part superseded by chairs with a low back.[2] The use of sandals spreads from the grandees to their upper servants.[3] The somewhat dangerous sport of spearing the crocodile from a light boat is indulged in;[4] and the domestication of dogs has produced a new type.[5] In another direction



Second type of Egyptian Dog.

we observe a change that is scarcely a mark of progress. War has become an element in the life of the people, and the manufacture of arms has grown into a trade. We see the fashioning of spears and bows in the sculptures,[6] and meet with occasional instances of figures where a dagger is worn in the belt.[7] Armourers are noticed as a distinct class,[8] and drove no doubt a brisk trade. The division of labour continued to ex-

[1] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 55. (No temple of this period remains.)

[2] See the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pls. 106, 111.

[3] Pl. 4, pls. 106, 107.

[4] See the representation in vol. i. of this work (p. 546), which is from a tomb of this period.

[5] *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 108. In the pyramid period we find no dog of a kind which stands much on its legs and has a stiffly curled tail (see p. 80, note [2]).

[6] *Denkmäler*, l. s. c.

[7] As in a statue of the period, now in the British Museum, No. 66.

[8] *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p. 151.

tend itself; and we have mention, or representation, of at least thirty different employments.[1] Literature grew in repute, as a profession; and the skilful scribe might hope for advancement to posts of high importance. If the 'Praise of Learning' is rightly ascribed to the sixth dynasty,[2] we may note as an advance the increased length of literary compositions, and the employment of a form of poetry which did not consist merely in the balance of sentences. We have also to note as belonging to this period the birth of history in the shape of a biographical memoir of some length, composed by an official of high rank, and inscribed upon his tomb.[3]

A further advance of the religion in the way of expansion and the multiplication of gods is also discernible. An altar dedicated by King Pepi, which is now in the Turin Museum,[4] seems to contain something like a full account of the gods recognised at this period, and something approaching to an account of the estimate which was commonly made of their relative importance. The altar is dedicated to Ptahah under the form of Sokari,[5] and this god, with his wife Sekhet, occupies naturally the foremost position on the monument. It would be unsafe, however, to conclude from this, that Phtah was recognised as the chief god, since

[1] The writer of the 'Praise of Learning' mentions, besides scribes or men of letters, the employments of the blacksmith, the carpenter, the stone-mason, the burner, the boatman, the agricultural labourer, the builder, the gardener, the farmer, the weaver, the armourer, the currier, the leather-sandal-maker, the washerman, the fowler, and the fisherman. Representations occur in the tombs of gold-workers, glass-blowers, potters, tailors, upholsterers, boat-builders, sculptors, professional dancers, hairdressers, doctors, scribes, &c., who were, we know, a separate class.

[2] See Dr Birch's 'Introduction' (*Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p. 140).

[3] Ibid. vol. ii. pp. 3 ff.

[4] For a copy of the inscription, and a sketch of the altar itself, see the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. ii. pls. 13, 14, pp. 1–12.

[5] See above, vol. i. p. 335.

the divinity to whom an object was dedicated could not but hold the first place on that object. Next to Phthah is placed Thoth, and next to Thoth a rare deity, called Petmutf, who is said to 'dwell in the houses of the Ocean'[1] These three gods are figured, and not merely named, on the monument: they occupy the first column of the inscription, which may be called 'the column of the dedication,' and thus stand quite separate from the remaining deities, with whom they do not enter into comparison. Thoth, however, has his place among these, appearing not in the first column only, but also in several of the remaining ones; and thus his place among the gods can be determined.

The gods generally appear to be divided into two classes, the universal and the local. The universal, or those worshipped in common by all the Egyptians, are, besides Saturn, 'Hearing' (who seems to be placed first because through her the gods *hear* prayers), Tum, Khepra, and Shu, the Sun Gods,[2] Shu being accompanied by his wife, Tafnu or Tefnut;[3] then, the deities of the Osiris legend, Seb, Netpe, Osiris himself, Isis, Set, Nephthys, and Horus,[4] next, Ra, with whom are joined three abstractions, Renpa, 'the Year,' Hat, 'an Age,' and Jeta, 'Eternity;' after these, three other abstractions—Ankh, 'Life,' Tat, 'Stability,' and Aut, 'Triumph;' then, Thoth under two forms;[5] and finally, an unnamed god, called 'the Great One of the five in Api Sekhet.' These deities seem to admit of the following arrangement:—

[1] *Transactions of Bibl. Arch. Society*, vol. iii. p. 214.
[2] Supra, vol. i. pp. 346–353.
[3] Ibid. pp. 387–8.
[4] Ibid. pp. 387–8.
[5] The earthly and the infernal 'Thoth in the house of selection,' and 'Thoth at the balance' (supra, vol. i. p. 372).

Persons.	Abstractions.
	Selemj.
1. Tum.	
2. Khepra	
3. Shu.	
4. Tafne.	
5. Seb.	
6. Netpé.	
7. Osiris.	
8. Isis.	
9. Set.	
10. Nephthys.	
11. Horus.	
12. Ra.	Year. Age. Eternity.
	Life. Stability. Triumph.
13. Thoth	
14. The Great One of the Five.	

Among the local gods, who are enumerated after these, many occur more than once, as being objects of worship in more than one city.[1] The most important of them are Phthah, worshipped in Memphis; Num or Khnum, in Elephantiné, Sabak, at Letopolis and elsewhere, Athor, at Menfa and Dendérah, Bast, at Bubastis, Mentu, at Uas or Hermonthis; Neith, at Tena or This; Anubis, at Sep; Nishem,[2] at Aukaf, and Kartek, a form of Taouri,[3] at Patek. The gods of the first list also occur in the second, since many of them were the objects of a *special* local worship. Abstractions also occur in this list, and genii, such as 'the Four of Amenti'.[4] Altogether, including manifest abstractions, there seem to be about fifty objects of worship mentioned, of which some twenty-five or thirty are proper deities.

[1] Sabak, for instance, is worshipped in five cities, Horus or Harmachis in nine, Anubis in three, Athor in three, &c.

[2] Supra, vol. i. p. 400.

[3] Ibid. p. 393.

[4] Ibid. p. 397.

The list is important, as well for what it omits as for what it contains. It is very noticeable that still, though the court has moved to Abydos, and has Thebes under its sway, there is no mention of Ammon. It is also very curious that Khem is omitted, especially as Pepi is seen worshipping him in his grossest form in a tablet at Hammamat.[1] Other omissions, less surprising, but still noticeable, are those of Maut, Seth, Aten, Khonsu, Osiris, Amenhept, Anuka, Ma, Heka, and Bes. Rapid as the growth of the Pantheon has been since the date of the great pyramid kings,[2] it is not yet complete. Not only have numerous local worships yet to be absorbed into the general Egyptian religion, but fresh deities have still to be invented or discovered, fresh ideas to be developed. Ancient polytheism is a Proteus, always varying its form, and abhorrent of finality. The religion of Egypt had to pass through many different phases before it reached its final shape; and we shall still have to note various other important modifications of it in that portion of the Egyptian history with which we have to deal in these volumes.

[1] *Denkmäler*, vol. ii. pt. ii. pl. 116 c.

[2] Compare above, pp. 39 and 84–5.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE DYNASTIES BETWEEN THE SIXTH AND THE TWELFTH.

No Monuments left by any Dynasty between the Sixth and the Eleventh, which were, however, separated by an Interval. Disintegration of Egypt. Parallel Kingdoms of Memphis, Heracleopolis, and Thebes. Causes of the Disintegration and Decline—and probable Length of the Interval. Situation of Thebes. Its Antiquity, Name, and primitive Position. Rise of Thebes to Independence. Dynasty of the Antefs and Mentuhotepu. Reign of Nankhkara. Expedition to Punt. Close of the Dynasty. Features of the Early Theban Civilization.

"As the sixth dynasty is conspicuous at present with which no link has yet been found, so the seventh dynasty [Manetho, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 88]

Of the five dynasties which Manetho placed between the sixth and the twelfth, one only—the eleventh—has left any monumental traces. It has been argued by some that this dynasty was contemporary with the sixth, if not even with the fourth;[1] but the latest discoveries seem to render this theory untenable. The sixth dynasty, as was shown in the preceding chapter,[2] bore sway over the entire Nile valley, and cannot have allowed the existence of an independent monarchy in the Thebaid, which would have cut it off from the South. There are, moreover, signs of development and advance in certain respects, under the kings of Dynasty XI., which render it almost certain that an interval of some not inconsiderable duration must have

[1] Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. [illegible] and *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 82 and 340, 1st ed. 508, 347; Stuart Poole in *Dr. Smith's* [illegible]

[2] See above, page 103.

separated off the second Egyptian civilisation from the first.[1]

It would seem that, at the death of Nitocris, the centrifugal force, which had long held the various provinces of Egypt asunder, proved stronger than the centripetal, and a disintegration of the empire took place. Memphis re-established its independence, and dynasties ruled there, to which Manetho assigned in his list the seventh and eighth places. Another kingdom sprang up in the Delta, having its capital at Heracleopolis Parva, in the Sethroite nome.[2] Here again were two successive dynasties, Manetho's ninth and tenth. In central Egypt a new power developed itself at Thebes, which rapidly acquired a superiority over the rival kingdoms, and ended by absorbing them. The eleventh dynasty has left considerable traces of itself, but of the other four there are no contemporary records, and, beyond some names of kings on the Turin papyrus, and in the lists of Karnak, Saccarah, and Abydos, which may be guessed to belong to them, we are entirely without details with respect to this period of Egyptian history.[3]

The causes of the sudden decline which accompanied the close of the sixth dynasty, and of the suspension of immigration during a term variously estimated

[1] M. Mariette says 'Quand nous lisons à la dynastie suivante que l'Égypte se révolte, démembrée, nous ne croyons pas à une révolution, mais à une succession de souverains locaux, dont aucun ne peut prétendre à l'empire. Les noms propres mêmes des souverains thébains, les titres donnés aux fonctionnaires, l'écriture elle-même, tout annonce une origine différente' (*Notice des Principaux Monuments*, p. 243).

[2] Lepsius, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. p. 248.

[3] Eighteen names of kings are given by Dr. Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 110 [1st ed.]) as belonging to these dynasties. They are taken from the 'New Table of Abydos,' set up by Seti I. The general character of the names accords with those of the fourth, fifth, and sixth dynasties. The most frequent is that of Neferkara.

at from 166 to 740 years,[1] are obscure, and can only be conjectured. M. Lenormant suggests[2] an invasion and conquest of Egypt by some foreign people, which held the real dominion of the country during the interval, whatever it was, but allowed native subject monarchs to maintain a precarious and inglorious sway at Memphis and in the Eastern Delta; but Dr. Birch observes[3] with reason, that it is 'difficult to believe' in a conquest, of which there is no historical record, no trace upon the monuments. The assertion that the skulls of mummies belonging to the eleventh and later dynasties are sensibly different from those of the period terminating with Dynasty VI., and indicate a decided modification of *physique*, such as would naturally follow on the introduction into the population of a new element, with which M. Lenormant supports his theory,[4] lacks corroboration by other writers, and is certainly not the statement of a fact generally admitted by Egyptologers. M. Lenormant himself allows the dubiousness of his theory, and winds up his remarks upon the subject with an alternative view: 'It would be rash,' he says,[5] 'to assert that the sudden eclipse which shows itself in the civilisation of Egypt immediately after the sixth dynasty had not solely for its

[1] According to Africanus, Manetho assigned to the seventh dynasty 70 days, to the eighth 146 years, to the ninth 409 years, to the tenth 185 years: total, 740 years and 70 days. According to Eusebius, the numbers were for the seventh dynasty, 75 days; for the eighth and ninth, 100 years each; for the tenth, 185 years—total, 385 years 75 days. By an arbitrary correction and combination of these two accounts M. Lenormant produces for the period a total of 400 years (*Manual of History Ancient*, vol. i. p. 721), which Dr. Birch adopts (*Ancient Egypt* p. 57). Bunsen, following Eratosthenes, who besides Manetho's numbers had to accommodate, reckons the actual length of the interval at 103 years (*Egypt's Place*, vol. i. pp. 257-261).

[2] *Manual of History Ancient*, vol. i. p. 340.

[3] *Ancient Egypt*, l.s.c.

[4] *Manual*, vol. i. p. 347.

[5] Ibid.

cause one of those almost inexplicable crises of weakness, wherewith the life of nations, like that of individuals, is sometimes crossed.' It would seem to be best to acquiesce, for the present at any rate, in this view: and to suppose that the great burst of vigour and energy, which commencing with Senefern terminated, perhaps seven centuries later,[1] with Nitocris, was followed by a period of exhaustion and enfeeblement, during which no works of any magnitude were constructed, no wars of any importance carried on, no inscriptions of any sort or kind set up. Such a pause in the life of an ingenious and active people like the Egyptians cannot be supposed to have been long, and we should incline, therefore, to the lowest estimate which has been hitherto made of the probable duration of the interval.

When Egypt, after this period of torpor, once more aroused herself and began to show new signs of life, the renascent civilisation developed itself from a new centre. In the long and rich valley of the lower Nile, which extends above five hundred miles from Syené to Memphis, almost any situation might furnish a site for a great city, since, except at Silsilis and at Gebelein, the valley is never less than two miles wide, the soil is always fertile, good quarries are always at hand, and lavish Nature is so bounteous with her gifts that abundant sustenance can at any point be obtained for a large population. But, in this wealth of eligible sites, there are still degrees of eligibility—spots which

[1] Manetho's numbers as reported by Africanus, are—

	Years
For the fourth dynasty . .	284
" fifth " . .	248
" sixth " . .	203
Total . . .	325

But the items of the reign in the 6th dynasty produce the number 218 instead of 248. The substitution of this number would bring the grand total within the period of seven centuries.

Nature has distinguished by special favour, and as it were marked out for greatness and celebrity. Such a position is that which the traveller reaches, when, passing through the gorge of the Gebelein, he emerges upon the magnificent plain, at least ten miles in width, through which the river flows with a course from south-west to north-east for a distance of some forty miles between Erment and Qobt. Here, for the first time since quitting the Nubian desert, does the Nile enter upon a wide and ample space.[1] On either side the hills recede, and a broad green plain, an alluvium of the richest description, spreads itself out on both banks of the stream, dotted with *dom* and date palms, sometimes growing single, sometimes collected into clumps or groves. Here, too, there open out on either side, to the east and to the west, lines of route offering great advantages for trade, on the one hand with the Lesser Oasis and so with the tribes of the African interior, on the other with the western coast of the Red Sea, and the space region of the opposite shore.[2] In the valley of Hammamát, down which passed the ancient route to the coast, are abundant supplies of *breccia verde* and of other valuable and rare kinds of stone,[3] while at no great distance to the right and left of the route lie mines of gold, silver, and lead,[4] an once highly prolific, though exhausted now for many ages. Somewhat more remote, yet readily accessible by a frequented route, was the emerald region of Gebel Zabara, where the mines are still worked,[5] though not at present very productive.

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 18.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 112-15, 1st ed.

[3] Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, pp. 415-421.

[4] Ibid. pp. 415-10; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 11., 1st ed.

[5] Wilkinson, p. 420.

In this favoured position, partly on the left but principally on the right bank of the stream, had grown up, probably from a remote antiquity, a flourishing provincial town, to which its inhabitants gave the name of Apet,[1] Ape, or, with the feminine article, Tape, which form the Greeks represented by Thebai,[2] whence our "Thebes." The city had for ages been only one out of the many populous towns which the early Pharaohs had held under their sway; it had been, no doubt, as it always continued to be, the head of a nome;[3] it had its own local peculiarities of religion, manners, speech, nomenclature, even perhaps its own modification of the generally received hieroglyphical system of writing.[4] But hitherto it had drawn no special attention, it had attained no notoriety. One among some scores of considerable Egyptian towns,[5] it had been content with a subject position, had refrained from asserting itself, and had consequently remained undistinguished.

When, however, at the close of the sixth dynasty, Egypt became disintegrated, and monarchies of no great strength were established at the Delta and at Memphis, it occurred to the authorities of Apt that the city over which they presided had as much right to exercise sovereignty as Heracleopolis Parva, and that a bold assertion of independence would probably be successful, might even be undisputed. The Memphite

[1] Birch gives the hieroglyphic form as [illegible] *Dictionary of Hieroglyphics*, in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v. p. 564. The phonetic sign of the group must be properly rendered by Apt or Apet.

[2] See Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. [illegible]. Hecat. ap. Hdt. ii. 143. Plin. *H. N.* v. 9; Ptol. *Geograph.* iv. 5; &c.

[3] See the passage from Manetho, quoted p. [illegible].

In the [illegible] of Xoïs, it was said that the number of [illegible] cities in Egypt was 20,000 (II. xix. 127). [illegible] actual enumeration, but from this [illegible] was [illegible] that might be enumerated.

kings of the seventh and eighth dynasties were too weak, the Heracleopolitans of the ninth and tenth too remote, to attempt interference; and Thebes became a free city, the capital of an independent monarchy, apparently without a struggle.

Who the individual was by whom this feat was accomplished, and the foundations laid of that second and more brilliant Egyptian civilisation which eclipsed the glories of the first, it is impossible even to conjecture. According to the Turin papyrus the eleventh or 'first Theban' dynasty comprised six, according to Manetho[1] it consisted of sixteen, Pharaohs. The monumental traces of the dynasty, discovered hitherto, appear to show a series of either six or eight monarchs[2] who bear alternately the names of Enantef or Antef, or , and Mont-hept or Mentu-hotep, or . But it is quite possible that the series is incomplete, and far from certain that the alternation of name was scrupulously maintained from the beginning to the end of the dynasty. A king named Sankh-ka-ra seems to have belonged to it,[3] who is not proved to have borne, besides, either of the usual appellations.

The first king of the dynasty who is known to us was an Antef, whose coffin was discovered by some Arabs in the year 1827 near Qurnah to the west of Thebes.[4] He called himself 'king of the two Egypts,

[1] All the epitomes agree in this statement.

[2] Lepsius (*Manual of History*, Sections, vol. i. p. 348) reckons eight, apparently six kings (Brugsch, *Manual of Egypt*, p. 65) omitting the other eight. Dr. Brugsch certainly has a distinct statement, but one easily explained, that there were only six monuments; but *History of Egypt* vol. i. pp. 110–15, 1st ed.).

Dr. Birch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 115–17, [illegible] Sankh-ka-ra is not acknowledged by either Dr. Birch or M. Lenormant; but M. Chabas seems to have established its position between Antef and Mont-hept in the eleventh dynasty.

[3] Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt*,

and his mummy, which was found inside the coffin, bore the royal diadem on its head.[1] It was enveloped in the pasteboard covering which has been called a 'cartonnage,' and the coffin was of a primitive character, being scooped out of the trunk of a tree.[2] He is supposed to have been succeeded by a Mentu-hotep, whose name occurs in the 'Table of Karnak,' but of whom we have no contemporary monument. This first Mentu-hotep was followed by Antefa, or 'Antef the Great,' who reigned at least fifty years,[3] and was buried in a simple pyramid of brickwork at the foot of the western or Libyan mountains, in the valley known as El-Assasif, near the ruins of Thebes. The tomb of Antefa, , ornamented by a sculptured tablet, of which the upper portion is lost, was recently discovered by M. Mariette. The tablet[4] shows him standing among his dogs, and waited on by his chief huntsman, from which we may conclude that, like more than one of the ancient Assyrian monarchs,[5] he delighted in the chase, and regarded with affection and pride the faithful animals who were the companions of his amusement. Each has his name engraved above him, accompanied by a brief explanation, which shows that the dogs were valued for their hunting qualities, and used in the pursuit of the antelope and other

pp. 28 et seqq. Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii. p. 502.

[1] The diadem was of gold, and its regal character was marked by the uræus. It is now in the Leyden Museum.

[2] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 68. The coffin is in the British Museum.

[3] See the inscription upon his tomb, which is given by M. Mariette in his *Monuments Divers*, pl. 40.

[4] See the *Monuments Divers*, pl. 40. A copy of this plate appeared in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. v. pp. 1, 2, accompanied by a very instructive commentary, the work of Dr. Birch.

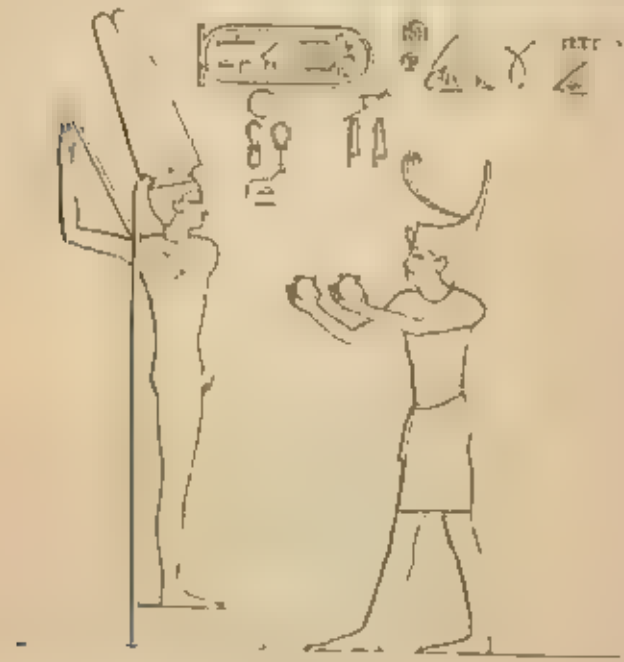
[5] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 74, 90, and 211, 2nd ed.

quadrupeds They are four in number, and each is of a different kind.

A second Mentu-hotep, the fourth king of the dynasty (according to Dr. Birch),[1] who bore also the names of Neb-kher-ra, , and Ra-neb-tau, , is thought to have succeeded Antefa By an inscription which he set up on the rocks of Konosso, quite close to Philæ, it is shown that his dominion was not confined to the Thebaid, but extended over the whole of Upper Egypt, and at the same time it appears, by the relief chiselled upon the stone, that he claimed to be the conqueror of thirteen foreign nations,[2] probably negro tribes of the country bordering Egypt to the south He is exhibited on the act of worshipping Khem, the special god of Koptos, or Apollinopolis Parva, which appears by another fact to have been at any rate his occasional residence.[3] This place commanded the entrance to the valley of Hammamat, the importance of which as a line of traffic was now for the first time fully recognised Mentu-hotep II sank wells in the valley, to provide water for the caravans which passed to and fro between Koptos and the Red sea,[4] and carved a tablet on the rocks above to commemorate his operations. He also procured from a quarry in this quarter a huge sarcophagus, destined to serve as his tomb, its length was eight cubits, or twelve feet; its breadth four cubits, and its height two. The services of 3 000 men were required to transport the enormous monolith from the spot where it was quarried to the nearest wharf upon the great stream.[5] Mentu-hotep Neb-kher-ra was also a patron of glyptic art. A statu-

[1] *Ancient Egypt*, p 58.
[2] Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol i p 113, 1st ed , Birch, l.c.
[3] Birch, *Ancient Egypt* p 60
[4] Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol i p 113, 1st ed.
[5] Ibid

ary, named Intusen, who lived under him, has left it on record in the inscription upon his tomb, that he "occupied the inmost recess of the king's heart, and made his delight all the day long."[1] This artist worked not merely in stone and marble, but "in gold, and silver, and ivory, and ebony,"[2] and was thus able to provide



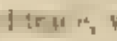
Tablet of Mentu-hotep II.

his royal master not only with statues, but with a vast variety of *objets d'luxe*.

Mentu hotep II is thought to have been followed by an Antef who has left no record of his reign, but who appears in the "Table of Karnak" at this point.[3]

[1] See the *Records of the Past*, vol. x. p. 3.
[2] Ibid. p. 4.
[3] See Lepsius, *Konigsbuch*, Taf. x. No. 160.

His successor, Menta-hotep III., continued to work the quarries of the Hammamat valley; and commissioners of his appointment set up several engraved tablets and inscriptions in that 'beautiful' district.[1] These show that this monarch claimed to be the son of the god Khem, whose worship he, in common with the other kings of the dynasty, specially affected. No wars are recorded at this time, though soldiers were employed to protect the sculptors and quarrymen employed in the Hammamat district, which would seem to imply the vicinity of some enemy.

The last monarch of the dynasty appears to have borne the name of Sankh-ka-ra, . He occupies the fifty-eighth place in the 'New Table of Abydos'.[2] An important inscription belonging to this reign has been recently discovered, and has received interpretation from M. Chabas. Sankh-ka-ra, it appears, not content with the hard tribute, which had now for some time enriched the Theban monarchs and brought them an abundance of the treasures of the African interior, resolved to open a new traffic by way of the Red Sea with the fertile and productive region known to the Egyptians as Punt,  . This tract has generally been regarded as a portion of 'Happy Arabia';[3] but the geographical researches of Dr. Brugsch have convinced him that Punt is to be sought, not on the Arabian but on the African side of the gulf, that in fact it is identical with the modern territory of the

[1] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 58-60. One of these inscriptions is given in the *Inscriptions mentales*, No. 1. This *Inscription mentale* was the name given to the sculptures and memorial persons of the sculptors in the quarry.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 113 et seq.

[3] *Records of the Past*, vol. x. pp. 11-13; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 61; Lenormant, *Manual of History*, Ancient, vol. i. p. 208, &c.

Somauli.[1] 'Punt,' he observes,[2] 'was a distant land, washed by the ocean, full of valleys and hills, abounding in ebony and other rich woods, in incense, balsam, precious metals, and costly stones; rich also in beasts, as camelopards, hunting leopards, panthers, dog-headed apes, and long tailed monkeys. Birds with strange plumage roosted themselves on the branches of wonderful trees, especially the incense tree and the cocoa palm.' Other authorities speak of it as producing benzoin, cassia, *kohl* or *stibium*, emeralds, ivory, and dogs of a good breed.[3] Sankh ka ra entrusted the expedition, which he sent to bring from Punt its precious wares, to a certain Hanno (Hannu?), who gives the following account of his proceedings. 'I was sent,' he says,[4] 'to conduct ships to Punt, in order to bring back to his majesty the odoriferous gums which the princes of the red land had collected under the influence of the fear inspired by him in all countries. Behold, I left Coptos . . . . His majesty ordained that the troops which were to accompany me should be drawn from the southern parts of the Thebaid. I set forth with an army of 3,000 men. I passed through the red hamlet and a cultivated territory. I prepared the skins and the poles needed for the transport of the water jars to the number of twenty. Half my men each day carried loads; the other half placed the loads upon them. I dug a reservoir of twelve perches in a wood, and two reservoirs at a place called Atuaet, one measuring a perch and twenty cubits, and the other a perch and thirty cubits. I made another

[1] *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 114, 1st ed.

[2] Ibid.

[3] *Records of the Past*, vol. x. p. 14, Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, Lec.

[4] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 116-20, 1st ed. A transcript of the original will be found in the *Denkmaler*, pt. ii. pl. 150 a.

at Ateb, measuring ten cubits each way, to contain water a cubit in depth. Then I arrived at Seba and constructed transports for the conveyance of all kinds of productions. I made a great offering there of oxen, cows, and goats. When I returned from Seba, I executed the orders of his majesty; I brought him back every sort of product that I met with in the havens of the holy land. I came back by way of Uak and Iteh an, and brought with me from those places precious stones for statues in temples. Never was such a thing done since there were kings. Never was anything of the kind accomplished by any member of the royal family since the reign of the Sun-God, Ra. I acted thus for the king on account of the great affection which he entertained for me.' The route pursued by Hannu as far as Seba appears to have been that which leads from Qobt or Qoft, by way of Ka Gutta, to Cosseir.[1] From Seba, where he had his transports, he must have proceeded southward along the African coast until he reached the fertile region with which it was his master's object to establish communications. He there probably found an *entrepôt* at which he was able to procure not only the products of the Somauli country itself, but also those which nations of the far East brought from Arabia, Persia, and perhaps even India, to be exchanged for the commodities of the regions watered by the Nile. Yemen and Hadramaut, Ophir, Bahrein,[2] Babylon, perhaps even Taprobané and Malabar here found a mart for their valuable wares, and purchased with them the manufactures of Egypt, the hard woods

[1] Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, p. 421. Belzoni, *Researches*, map opp. p. 480.

[2] On the early commerce of Bahrein, see Sir H. Rawlinson's 'Notes on Captain Durand's Report,' in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1879, pp. 13–20.

of the African forests, and the swart and stalwart slaves of Nubia and Dongola. The line of traffic thus established continued in use during the whole of the Egyptian period, and even into Greek and Roman times. 'It was the highway which, leading to the harbour of Leucos-limen (now Cosseir), on the Red Sea, brought the wonders of India and Arabia to Europe; it was the road of the merchants of all countries in the ancient world—the nations bridge between Asia and Europe.'[1]

A special interest is added to Senkh-ka-Ra's establishment of communications with the land of Punt by the circumstance that, according to Egyptian tradition, Punt was the country from which they had derived some, at any rate, of their principal gods. Athor especially, 'the mother,' the 'mistress of heaven,' was 'Queen of the Holy Land, 'Mistress and Ruler of Punt.'[2] Ammon was sometimes called the 'Hak' or 'King' of Punt, and Horus was honoured as 'the day morning star which rose to the west of the land of Punt.'[3] According to Brugsch, the ill-formed dwarf, Bes, misshapen, and with harsh countenance,' was also originally a denizen of Punt, the 'oldest form of the godhead' there, imported into Egypt at an early date from this distant region, and thence forward a favourite object of domestic worship, recognised as 'the god of joy, of music, and of pleasure, the divinity who chases away evil, and therefore as suited to preside over the toilet tables of great dames, and the arts by which beauty is preserved and enhanced.'[4]

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 117, 1st ed.

[2] See *Records of the Past*, vol. x. pp. 18, 19.

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 116, 1st ed.

[4] Ibid. not compare for a fuller account the French work published by Brugsch himself in the year 1870, p. 52, where Bes is called 'le divinité de la danse, de la musique et des plaisirs, celui qui chasse le

The eleventh, or first Theban dynasty seems to have ended in bloodshed and confusion. The first king of the twelfth dynasty tells us that, before he established himself upon the throne, Egypt had forgotten all her old traditions[1]—had 'become like a bull which had lost all memory of the past'[2]—that during a long term of civil war and disturbance the people of the land had suffered 'affliction,' and 'there had been stability of fortune neither for the ignorant nor for the learned man.'[3] The details of the troubles are wanting; but we can scarcely be mistaken in regarding private ambition as the disturbing force at work, and rival pretenders to the crown as responsible for the calamities of the period. The Antefs had not the prestige of long hereditary royalty; and their establishment of themselves in the kingly position might naturally create hopes and arouse jealousies, which some favourable occasion stimulated into action. Perhaps the Antef family died out; perhaps Sankh-ka-ra has no male issue, and the Lucretia of his daughters disputed the succession among them. Opportunity would then arise for other claimants to come forward; the quarrel would become more complicated, and civil war rage throughout the length and breadth of the land. It is certain that the Amenemhats and Usurtasens claim no connection with the Antefs and Mentu-hoteps, and all but certain that they were a new race, unconnected with their predecessors.

[1] 'Ignorant' and 'learned' is a contrast between the illiterate and the literary classes, and other texts refer to the same subject. (Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, pp. 28, 34, &c.)

[2] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 121, note 1.

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 145, 1st ed.

[4] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 12, § 6, ad fin.

The 'second Egyptian civilisation,' as it has been called,[1] differed in many respects from the first. The first was egoist, self-seeking, stately, cold, cruel. The second was utilitarian, beneficent, appealing less to the eye than to the mind, but judicious, far-sighted in its aims, and most successful in the results which it effected. The encouragement of trade and commerce, the establishment and improvement of commercial routes, the digging of wells, the formation of reservoirs, the protection of the roads by troops, the building of ships, the exploration of hitherto unknown seas—such were the special objects which the monarchs of the eleventh dynasty set before them, and the lines of activity into which they threw their own energies and the practical ability of their people. No longer aiming, like the old Memphite kings, at leaving undying memorials of themselves in the shape of monuments that reached to heaven, but content with rude coffins and humble sepulchres, often not even of stone,[2] they were enabled to employ the labour of their subjects in productive pursuits, and to increase largely the general prosperity of the country by adding to the agricultural wealth of Egypt the luxuries and conveniences which an extensive commerce is sure to introduce. The full development of the new ideal was reserved for the dynasty which succeeded them, and is especially to be traced in the great works of utility connected with the Lake Moeris and the control of the Nile waters by means of sluices and reservoirs; but the eleventh dynasty set the example of seeking the welfare of their subjects rather than their own glorification; and when Amenemhat I., the founder of the twelfth, boasts that

[1] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 348.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 141, 1st ed.

all the commands which he had ever issued had but increased the love which his people had for him, so does but show that he had carried out the principles of governmental administration introduced by the Antefs and Mentu-hoteps.

It was natural that art, when such principles were in vogue, should be turned into new channels. No longer did kings vie with kings in the piling up of a monumental mountain; no longer was it the first aim of a monarch to 'leave a memorial of himself.'[1] Architecture consequently declined. The eleventh dynasty is scarcely commemorated by a single tomb or building, and even the twelfth only left one of any great size.[2] Artistic energy was directed to statuary, to works in relief, to amulets, furniture, and ornaments of various kinds.[3] In these branches considerable progress was made. The statues of the time have no small merit,[4] the reliefs are drawn with delicacy, though wanting in variety and force. Animal forms, however, are depicted with some spirit. The four dogs of Antefa offer a marked contrast the one with the other, and express with precision distinct canine types.[5] Two antelopes on another tomb of the same period are vigorous,[6] while the drawings of the hieroglyphs on the stele of Intiseni, which comprise numerous figures of birds and beasts, are said to be of quite first rate

[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 14, § 11.

[2] Herodotus says that he omits the names of certain kings, since they left no memorial of themselves, and are therefore not worth men's mention (ii. 99).

[3] The famous 'Labyrinth,' of which some account will be given in the next chapter.

[4] See the 'Statue of Intiseni' (*Records of the Past*, vol. x. p. 3), and compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 1st & 2nd ed.

[5] Birch, *Guide to Galleries*, pp. 17, 19.

[6] See Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 60, and comp. Birch, p. 140.

Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 60.

excellency.[1] Altogether, one is more struck perhaps by the persistency of Egyptian art in the same forms than by anything else in the remains of the eleventh dynasty, since, even after an interval of some length, and in an entirely new and previously unknown locality, the artists give us almost identically the same designs, the same positions of the human figure, the same arrangement of their subjects, the same faces, the same furniture. Evidently, originality was either unthought of, or repressed; the canons of ancient times were considered binding, and novelty was only allowed within very narrow limits.

A greater variation from the usages of primitive times, a more distinct trace of local colouring, is to be seen in the religion of the period. From a deep and thick obscurity, the god Amun at last begins to emerge, not yet with any distinctness, much less with that transcendent glory which made him, in the best times of Thebes, to be decidedly the leading god of the entire Egyptian Pantheon, but just making himself apparent as a god to whom parents think it worth while to dedicate a child.[2] Perhaps he was now for the first time introduced from Punt, which was always regarded as the locality whereto he specially belonged, and from which he made excursions from time to time,[3] like those of the Greek Zeus from Olympus. Another peculiarity of the period is the prominence given to Menta[4]

[1] See the preface of Professor Maspero, to the *Records of the Past*, vol. x. pp. 1, 2.

[2] There is an *Amen-em-hat* who was engraved under Menthotpe II. to convey the sarcophagus from the valley of Hammamat to the capital (supra, p. 120). There is also an *Amen-em*, the wife of a sculptor of the time (one of the engraved tablets of the British Museum [here, *Guide to Egyptian collections*, p. 56]). The *Amen-em-hat* who became king must have received his name under circumstances likely now

[3] See Brugsch, *Histoire d'Egypte*, p. 125.

[4] Menta, Khem, and Neith are

and Khem, who have hitherto been very subordinate and insignificant deities. Menthu, the god of Hermonthis, a sort of suburb of Thebes, may be called the tutelary divinity of the whole dynasty, half the kings placing their sons under his protection, and the other half bearing his name. Khem, hitherto kept for the most part in obscurity, though the special god of Coptos, takes and only a leading position, rears his figure upon the rocks in various quarters,[1] and shows himself in the gross and coarse form which no author of the present day could reproduce without incurring general reprobation. Other deities worshipped at the time, but with ordinary and not peculiar honours, were Osiris, Anubis, Kneph, Horus, Phthah-Sokari, Thoth, and Neith. The Sothiac festival is now also for the first time noted as in use, and feasts are also held, at stated periods, to Khem, Phthah-Sokari, and Thoth.[2]

The monuments distinctly referable to the eleventh dynasty are not sufficiently numerous to furnish us with much information as to the progress of civilization and the arts of life. There is some indication that shoes now began to take the place of sandals[3] that glass and pottery increased in elegance,[4] and that the figures of combs were ornamented with patterns.[5] Special atten-

represented together on a tablet set up by Mentuhotep II. at the head of Kosseir. *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 150. The separated names of the British Museum show a Mentuhotep a Mentuhotepankh, and a Mentuhotepankhnumu, bearing the names of the parent. Birch, *Guide to Galleries*, pp. 19, 20, 28.)

Denkmäler, pt. ii. pls. 140 *c*, 150 *b*, *c*, and *d*.

[2] *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. p. 9. Birch, *Guide to Galleries*, p. 20 No. 402.

[3] See the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pls. 145 *c*, 147 *b*, and 149. It has been noted that women were alike with and without sandals in ancient Egypt. (Lenormant, *Introduction*, p. xvi.) But they have been found at Thebes (Wilkinson, *M. & P.* vol. ii. p. 367, and Birch, *Gallery*), and certainly the representation in the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 140 *c*, is of an unusual and unreliable.

[4] *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pls. 145 *d*, and 148 *a*.

[5] Ibid. pls. 147 *a*, and 148 *c*, *a*.

tion seems to have been paid to the breeding of dogs, which occur of at least four different kinds, corresponding to our greyhound, mastiff, wolf-dog, and ordinary hound.[1] The first named was used in the chase of the gazelle or antelope, the second as a house-dog, and sits at the feet of his master: he is of a black colour, and is called *Mehnit*, which is explained as meaning "lucky." The other two are employed to hunt game of various kinds. A special domestic is appointed to attend to the kennel, who seems to be regarded as an upper servant, since he wears an elegant collar.

[1] Compare Dr. Birch's article in *Mém. Archæology*, vol. i. pp. 172 the *Transactions of the Society of Literature*.

CHAPTER XVII.

THE TWELFTH DYNASTY.

Period of Disturbance. Accession of Amen-em-hat I. His Military Expeditions. His great Works. His Addiction to Field Sports. He associates his Son Usurtesen, and leaves him written Instructions. Reign of Usurtesen I. His Obelisks. His Temples. His Obelisk Hall. His Chief Officers, Amten and Mentuhotep. His Association of Amen-em-hat II. Reign of Amen-em-hat II. Reigns of Usurtesen II and Usurtesen III. Conquest of Ethiopia and Usurtesen III. Lords of Semneh and Kummeh. Usurtesen III the Original of the mythic Sesostris. Patriotic Character. Reign of Amen-em-hat III. His Theban Name. His great Irrigation Scheme. His Namardes. His Palace and Pyramid. His other Works. Reigns of Amen-em-hat IV and Sebek-nefrura. Continuation of the Period. Arts of Life. Architecture and Glyptic Art. Changes in the Religion.

"L'époque de la douzième dynastie fut une époque de prospérité, de paix intérieure et de grandeur au dehors." Lenormant, Histoire ancienne de l'Orient, vol. i. p. 349.

It has been observed in the last chapter, that the eleventh, or first Theban dynasty expired in bloodshed and confusion. A time of general disturbance follows, upon the death of Sankh-ka-ra, and it was probably not till some years had elapsed that Thebes was once more able to establish her supremacy over Egypt and to give the afflicted land the blessing of a settled rule. We do not know the circumstances of the outbreak, or the causes which led to revolution; but there is some reason to suspect a general disaffection of the lower orders, terminating in open rebellion and civil war. Amen-em-hat, , the individual who suc-

resulted ultimately in re-establishing tranquillity, warns his son against seeking to win the affections of the landed lords and noblemen only, and bids him associate himself with the mass of his subjects and essay to obtain their goodwill.[1] It is at least probable that he has seen the evils of a contrary course, and had been induced to make himself the patron and protector of the weak and humble[2] by experience gained in the school of adversity, before he attained to sovereign power.

There is no indication of any relationship between the kings of the twelfth and those of the eleventh dynasty, and it is a conjecture not altogether improbable, that the Amenemhat who was the founder of the twelfth was descended from the namesake of the same name, who under Mentuhotep II. held commissions of importance.[3] At any rate, he makes no pretension to a royal origin, and the probability would seem to be that he attained the throne not through any claim of right, but by his own personal merits. Amid a multitude of competitors, he fought his way to the crown, and was accepted as king, because he had triumphed over his rivals. On one occasion, he tells us, his life was in extreme danger. He had taken his evening meal, and had retired to rest—stretched upon a carpet in the inner chamber of his house, he was courting sleep—when, lo! a clash of arms resounded, footsteps approached, hoping to assassinate

[1] *Records of the Past* [illegible] p[illegible] II., § 2.

[2] 'As for myself,' says Amenemhat, 'I was given to the humble and made the weak exist;' and again, 'I have made the afflicted cease to be in lodgings afflicted and their cries to be heard as [illegible]' (*ibid.* pp. 11, 12, § [illegible] and 6).

[3] See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 122, 1st ed.

[4] *Supra*, p. 138, note [illegible].

him as he slumbered; he roused himself; he "woke up to fight;" and the conspirators fled in haste, without waiting to exchange blows.[1] It is not quite clear whether this event occurred before or after his accession to the throne; but it reveals the stuff whereof he was made, and it fitly explains his easy triumph over his competitors.

Once established in power, Amen-em-hat showed activity and energy. He carried on wars on every side—with the Pett, or bowmen of the Libyan interior,[2] the Sati or Asiatics,[3] the Maxyes or Mazyes of the north west,[4] and the Ua-uat and other negro tribes of the south.[5] Eagerly seconded by his young son, Usurtasen, who from his earliest youth showed an unmistakable talent for war and a positive love of fighting,[6] he inflicted blow after blow upon these enemies, and forced them to acts of submission. Still, his military expeditions do not seem to have resulted in conquests, and their aim was perhaps rather to protect Egypt from predatory incursions by striking terror into the tribes upon that frontier, than to extend the bounds of the Egyptian dominion. Amen-em-hat was content to "stand on the (old) boundaries of the land, and

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Records of the Past, vol. iv. pp. 12, 13; and vol. vii. p. 17.

[1] *Ibid.* vol. vi. pp. 137–8.

[2] *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 14, § 32.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] Had not complete [illegible] tian Land by Dr. Lepsius, [illegible] book, which is to [illegible] of the [illegible] Amen-em-hat [illegible] by exceptional [illegible] of [illegible] and [illegible] (See Rawlinson's *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 123, 1st ed.

[5] In the "Story of Sinuha" the following account is given of the province of Usurtasen in the early years:—

[illegible]

[6] *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 137.

keep watch on its borders,'[1] to rule all Egypt 'from Abu (Elephantine) to the Athu' (the marsh region of the Delta) was enough for him,[2] we do not find him establishing any military posts in the countries which he invaded. On the contrary, we find that, in one quarter at any rate, he followed up his victories by building a wall, or defensive work, upon his own frontiers, for the purpose of 'keeping off the Sakr,'[3] or, in other words, of checking and repelling their incursions. This post was probably a little to the east of Pelusium, near the western extremity of the Lake Serbonis.[4]

Among extant monuments none of any great importance can be assigned to Amenemhat, though his activity was shown in buildings no less than in warlike expeditions. There are indications that he commenced the temple of Ammon at Karnak opposite Thebes, where fragments of a granite statue have been found on which the sculptor had engraved his name.[5] Another statue, also representing him, was erected in the Fayum.[6] He worked the quarries of Mokattam and Hammamat,[7] adorned Memphis,[8] and constructed two considerable edifices, which have perished—a palace, supposed to have been situated at Heliopolis,[9] and a pyramid, known as Kamefer, , 'Lofty and Hard-stone.'[10] Of the former, he tells us that it was 'adorned with gold, its roof was painted blue, the walls and

[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 14, § 10.
[2] Ibid.
[3] Ibid. vol. vi. p. 136, l. 23 sq.
[4] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 127 (1st ed.), and compare the map which accompanies his second volume.
[5] Ibid. p. 124, and compare the French edition, p. 80, which is fuller.
[6] Ibid.
[7] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 61.
[8] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 126 (1st ed.).
[9] Birch, l.c.
[10] Brugsch, l.c.

the passages were of stones fastened together with iron cramps;[1] it was 'made for eternity,' he says, and not for time; but unluckily it has not fulfilled the intention of its constructor. The other, notwithstanding its proud title, was probably of moderate dimensions, like the pyramids of the Monthotepsand Antefs, it was erected to contain a stone sarcophagus cut in the Hammamát quarries by Antef, son of Sebak nekht, chief priest of the god Khem, who has commemorated the fact on the rocky wall of the Wady.[2]

A third field in which the activity of this energetic king found employment was that of the chase. He 'hunted the lion,' he tells us, 'and brought back the crocodile a prisoner.'[3] Lions, which are now not found north of Nubia, frequented in those early times the deserts on either side of the valley of the Nile,[4] and furnished a sport in which even a great king did not feel it beneath him to indulge. Crocodiles were more common, and had long been objects of pursuit to the Egyptian sportsman, who generally speared them from a boat,[5] but sometimes fished for them with a baited hook,[6] and in this way might catch them alive. Probably Amenemhat adopted this latter method of procedure, and on returning to his palace exhibited the victims of his skill and prowess to the nobles and officials of his court.

As he approached old age, and felt its infirmities creeping upon him, Amenemhat resolved to associate his son Usurtasen in the government. This prince had, as already remarked, exhibited from his earliest

[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 14, § 12; 15, § 13.
[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 124, 1st ed.
[3] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 14, § 12.
[4] See above, vol. i. p. 68.
[5] Ps. lxviii. 30.
[6] Herod. ii. 70.

youth, high military capacity; and it would seem that there was a party at the Court which pressed on Amenemhat his own abdication in favour of a successor of such merit.[1] But the aged monarch was unwilling to cease himself altogether, and saw no necessity for so extreme an act of self-abasement. Association had probably been practised from ancient times by the Egyptian kings; and it seemed to Amenemhat that by having recourse to this plan of action he might reconcile the demands of the discontented with his own personal inclinations. Accordingly, without descending from the throne, he allowed Usurtasen to assume the royal dignity,[2] and henceforth, for the space of ten years,[3] the father and son reigned conjointly.

Finally, before descending into the tomb Amenemhat resolved to leave to his son a legacy of political wisdom in the shape of "Instructions,"[4] by the observance of which he might reign prosperously, and guide his life to a happy termination. Representing himself as speaking from the Lower World, he enjoined upon Usurtasen the practice of justice and virtue, the attainment of all classes of his subjects to his presence and his affections, the avoidance of pride and exclusiveness, together with care in the selection of his intimate friends and counsellors. Briefly recapitulating the chief events of his own life, and the principles which had actuated him, he recommended to his successor persistence in

[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 18, § 8.

[2] This fact is glanced at, without being distinctly stated, in the 'Instructions,' §§ 1, 2. It is seen very clearly in the 'Story of Sanehat,' where the royal dignity of both father and son and the joint participation in governmental acts are apparent (*Records of the Past*, vol. vi. pp. 137–42).

[3] See Brugsch's *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 147 (1st ed.). Dr. Birch makes the joint reign one of seven years (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 61).

[4] The 'Instructions' have been translated and published in the *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 11–16.

the same course—the protection of the weak and feeble, the relief of the afflicted, the punishment of the rebellious, the exercise of continual watchfulness and care against possible calamities, the defence of the frontier, the encouragement of agriculture, and the chastisement of foreign enemies, urging him to act ever better than any of his predecessors, and reminding him that he too would have one long to 'enter the boat of Ra,' and make the dread passage across the 'Great Pool' into the presence of Osiris.[1] Perhaps we may attribute in some measure to this document the satisfactory and in certain respects brilliant reign which followed, and of which we have now to give an account.

Usurtasen, , who assumed the praenomen of Khepr-ka-ra, , upon his association,[2] after reigning ten years conjointly with his father in perfect unity and agreement, entered upon his sole reign when Amenemhat died, and continued to exercise the royal authority from that date for thirty-five years. He is remarkable at once for his constructions and for his conquests. Thebes, Abydos, Heliopolis or On, the Fayoum, and the Delta, were equally the scenes of his constructive activity; and traces have been found at all these various sites, indicative of his religious zeal and architectural eminence. Of these various works the best known, though by no means the most interesting, is the obelisk of pink granite which still stands upon the site of Heliopolis, lifting itself above the verdure of the cornfields into the soft sleepy air, and point-

[1] The text of § 13 of the Instruction is both mutilated and corrupt, so that its meaning is obscure; but to me it seems to have had the meaning expressed above.

[2] The name Khepr-ka-ra is assigned to him by the author of the Story of Sanehat, while Amenemhat is still living. *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. p. 142.

ing with silent finger to heaven. Obelisks were not previously quite unknown. We meet with the hieroglyphic form as early as the times of the fifth dynasty,[1] and a small obelisk, erected by one of the Antefs of the eleventh, has been discovered by M. Mariette at Drah-abou 'l-neggah.[2] But the erection of Usurtasen I. is the earliest monument of the kind, possessing any considerable grandeur,[3] which is known to us; and it has the rare advantage of still remaining on the spot where it was originally set up, and where it has witnessed the events of at least thirty-seven centuries. It rises to a height of sixty-six feet[4] above the surrounding plain, is formed of the hardest and most beautiful rose-coloured granite, and contains a deeply-cut hieroglyphical legend, exactly repeated on each of its four faces. The inscription runs as follows: 'The Horus-Sun, the life of those who are born, the king of the Upper and the Lower Lands, Khepr-ka-ra, the lord of the double crown, the life of those who are born, the son of the Sun God Ra, Usurtasen; the friend of the spirits in On, the ever living golden Horus, the life of those who are born, the good god, Khepr-ka-ra, has executed this work in the beginning of the thirty years' cycle, he the dispenser of life for evermore.'[5] Originally, it was beyond all doubt one of a pair[6] placed in front of the great entrance to the Temple of the Sun, like 'Jachin and Boaz'[7] of the Egyptian sanctuary.

[1] De Rougé, *Recherches*, p. 75.

[2] Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 50 *a*.

[3] The height of the obelisk of Antef is no more than 23 metres, or less than eleven feet.

[4] *Description de l'Égypte*, 'Antiquités,' vol. v. p. 230.

[5] For a good representation of this obelisk and its inscriptions, see the *Description*, pl. 2 of Thebes. The translation given in the text is taken in the main from Dr. Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 131, 1st ed.).

[6] See above, vol. i. p. 235.

[7] 1 Kings vii. 21.

THE DEATH OF THE PRINCE.

A far more interesting memorial of Usurtasen than his Heliopolitan obelisk, with its tautological epigraph, is the work of the same kind, which now lies, broken and prostrate, on the soil of the Fayoum. Considerably inferior in size, since its complete height did not much exceed forty feet,[1] this monument excels the other in the variety and in the artistic value of the sculptures which it once bore upon it. Usurtasen is represented, on the upper portion of the only land face which is visible, in the act of worshipping twenty of the principal deities. Among these the most honourable positions are assigned to Ammon and Pthah, while Month, Ra Harmachis, Isis, Nephthys, Sebak, Thoth, Kneph, Shu, Khem, Athor, and Sefkh are among the other objects of the monarch's adoration. The narrow sides have inscriptions, which resemble each other to a certain extent, but are far from being duplicates. In these the gods Month and Pthah are alone commemorated.

At Thebes, Usurtasen continued the construction of the great temple of Ammon which his father had begun, and is thought to have completed the remarkable cell,[2] which formed the inner sanctuary, or "Holy of Holies," in the temple as it existed at a later date. The original building of Usurtasen, which was probably of sandstone, appears to have been removed by Thothmes III., who, however, reproduced it in granite, and commemorated the original founder by inscribing his name upon the walls. The edifice is remarkable for the extreme simplicity of its plan, and the absence

[1] See the measurements in the Appendix to vol. i. pp. 278-9, and Perring's plan, pl. 10 of his Memoir in Vyse's *Topography of Gizeh*, &c. The two added together amount to 72·3 Thebaic, or 77 ft. 4 in. metres.

of all architectural embellishment. Usurtasen also built cells or lodgings for the priests attached to the edifice, and especially one for the 'chief seer' of the temple, which continued to the time of Rameses IX., when it had to be restored, having fallen into decay.[1]

At Tanis in the Delta,[2] at Abydos,[3] and at Elephantine[4] Usurtasen appears to have constructed temples, which were adorned with sculptures, inscriptions, and colossal statues.[5] He also—in person or by his agents—erected monuments in the Wady Magharah,[6] and at Wady Halfa on the Nile, a little above the Second Cataract. This last named monument commemorated his principal conquest, and will consequently introduce an account of his chief military operations.

We have seen that under the sixth dynasty, Egypt began to stretch out her arm towards the south,[7] and that the negro tribes of Northern Nubia were already subject to her authority. But at that time the movements made no mention of the Kushite or Ethiopian race, which in the later period of the independent monarchy played so important a part, sometimes even seeming Egypt and coming into contact with Assyria. So late as the reign preceding Usurtasen's, when Egypt warred in this quarter, the Cushites were still the principal tribe, and Amenemhat I. claimed as his greatest military glory that he had fought with them.[8] But under Usurtasen we find a different condition of things

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 161 (vol. i. p. 151, second ed.).

[2] Ibid. vol. i. p. 140.

[3] Ibid. pp. 141–2.

[4] Wilkinson, in the notes to his *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 340, note 4.

[5] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, p. 91; Lenormant, *Manual of Ancient History*, vol. i. p. 253.

[6] Brugsch, l.s.c.; Lenormant, p. 254.

Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 61; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 156, [illegible] 'The Wady Halfa memorial stone is in the Museum of Florence.'

[7] Supra, pp. 103–7.

[8] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 14, § 12.

The Ta-nut and their immediate neighbours have, we must suppose, been subjected, and the Egyptians, passing further south, come into contact with the veritable Cushite race—the dark-skinned nation which had early peopled the whole northern shore of the Indian Ocean, from the mouth of the Indus to the vicinity of Cape Guardafui. Usurtasen coveted the possession of the gold region, from which Nubia derived its name,[1] and, proceeding southward along the course of the Nile from the twenty-fourth to the twenty-second parallel, came into hostile collision with the Kashi, , or Cushites, who now for the first time make their appearance in Egyptian history, and gave them a severe defeat.[2] The tribes who fought on the Ethiopian side were, besides the Cushites themselves, the Shemk, the Khesea, the Shaat, and the Akerkek,[3] all of whom are mentioned on the tablet which the victor set up to preserve the memory of his success. The Second Cataract was probably now made the boundary of Egypt to the south, Semneh being advanced in this direction a distance of nearly one hundred and fifty miles.

The inscription of Ameni, a general employed in this expedition, is chiefly remarkable for its statements concerning the small number of the troops under his command. They are given as 400, or at the utmost 600;[4] yet they seem to have been irresistible, and to have carried all before them. We are reminded of modern African expeditions under a Stanley, a Baker,

[1] The word for 'gold' in Egyptian is . Nubia is written = Nubi.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 156–8, Incl.

[3] Such is the latest reading of the names (Brugsch, p. 159). Formerly they were read as Shaat, Hesea, Chaat, and Aegin (see the French version, p. 1).

[4] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 62.

or a Gordon, where a few hundred porters and camp-followers easily disperse all the hostile forces that gather to oppose their march, and by superiority of weapons and of discipline are enabled to triumph over thousands. The account given by Ameni reveals an extreme weakness on the part of the tribes assailed, and leads us to suppose that the great nation of the Cushites was only very partially engaged in the war. Ameni's object, moreover, seems to have been booty as much as territory; he prides himself on 'conducting the golden treasures' to his master,[1] and on capturing and carrying off a herd of 3,000 cattle.[2]

Another remarkable personage, who plays a part in the subjugation of the tribes of the south during the reign of Usurtasen, bore the name of Mentu-hotep. His tomb-stone is among the treasures of the Museum of Boulaq, appears to have held a rank in the kingdom second only to that of the king. He filled at once and the same time the offices of minister of justice, home secretary, chief commissioner of public works, director of public worship, and perhaps of foreign secretary and minister of war.[3] 'When he arrived at the gate of the royal residence, all the other great personages who might be present bowed down before him, and did obeisance.'[4] He was judge, financier, general, administrator, artist. He preserved internal peace and routed foreign enemies, instructed men in their duties, and upheld the honour of the gods. No doubt his merits had endeared him greatly to his

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 139, 1st ed. transl.

[2] Ibid. ibid.

[3] 'Mentu-hotep remplissait à la fois les fonctions de ministre de la justice, de l'intérieur, des travaux publics, et peut-être même celles de ministre des affaires étrangères et de la guerre.' (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, p. [illegible].)

[4] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 141, 1st ed. Compare Esther ii. 2.

royal master; but we may question whether he does not take too favourable a view of human nature when he says that he was equally beloved by his colleagues and the other great men.

After a sole reign of thirty two years, Usurtasen associated on the throne his son Amenemhat, conjointly with whom he continued to reign for exactly three or four years longer.[1] He must have died at a tolerably advanced age, since, from the time of his own association by his father, he had held the royal dignity for forty five years, and it is not likely that he would be associated before the age of twenty or twenty five.

Amenemhat II., who took the officious title of Nubkaura, [illegible], was, comparatively speaking, an unobtrusive prince, and but little is known of Egypt under his reign, though it extended over at least) thirty-eight years.[2] He appears to have continued the war against the black races of the south,[3] while at the same time he extended the sphere of the Egyptian operations in the north-east. In this quarter he not only worked the old mines of the Wady Maghara, but established a new mining station at Sarabut-el-Khadim,[4] where there is a tablet which he set up in the twenty-fourth year. He repaired the tomb of one of his predecessors, called Amten,[5] erected a statue in black basalt to his queen, Nefert, 'the virtuous,'[6] and

[illegible] says 'three' (*History of Egypt*, [illegible] p. 120, 1st ed.; Birch, *Ancient History of Egypt*, p. 65) 'three years.'

[1] Birch speaks of 'the forty-fourth year of Amenemhat II.' (ib. p. 65); but Manetho gives him thirty-two years only, and Brugsch does not seem to have any number from the monuments.

[2] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 366; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 144, 1st ed.

[3] Birch, *Ancient History of Egypt*, p. 65.

[4] This hill, not otherwise known, is [illegible] to have been [illegible] and twelfth [illegible] and [illegible] [illegible] and Sinai [illegible]. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 42, 1st ed.)

[5] Ibid. p. 147.

executed repairs of public buildings in several cities of the Delta. The chief official of his time was Khnumhotep, whose rock-tomb at Beni-Hassan is one of the most remarkable and most richly adorned of those extensive excavations.[1] Amenemhat II. appears to have admitted the hereditary rank of this great noble, on whom he conferred a government which had been held by his maternal grandfather[2] under Amenemhat I. Following the example of his predecessors, Amenemhat II. elevated his son Usurtasen to the royal dignity, and reigned conjointly with him for six years, before he entered "the eternal abodes."

Usurtasen II., who was distinguished by the prenomen of Sa-kheper-ra,[3] [illegible], had a sole reign of thirteen years only, during which time it does not seem that there occurred any events of more importance. Egypt was flourishing, and was sought by emigrants who quitted their own less favoured countries to fix their abode in the fertile valley of the Nile. Among those whose coming is recorded was a family of Aamu, Semites by all appearance, perhaps from Midian, who, to the number of thirty-seven, entered Egypt in a body, carrying their little ones upon asses, and sought the protection of the reigning Pharaoh through his minister.[4] Various circumstances of the scene illustrate the arrival in Egypt of the sons of Jacob; but it is not now supposed by any one to represent that occurrence.[5]

[1] See the *Denkmäler* pt. ii. pls. 123, 124.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 145 and 146, 2nd ed.

[3] The name is given as Ka-kau-ra in the English translation of Brugsch's *Egypt* p. 147, and as Ra-kau-ra in the French edition of 1877, and also in Birch's *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, 3rd ed. p. 124, while Lepsius *Königsbuch* Taf. vii. No. 141)

[4] *Denkmäler* pt. ii. pls. 123, 124. Compare the hieroglyphic text in Birch, *Ancient Egypt* p. 105, and Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 150–7.

[5] Compare Bunsen, *Egypt's Place* vol. i. p. 200; Birch, *Ancient Egypt* p. 65; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*,

Khnum-hotep remained in favour under the second Usurtasen, who appointed his son Nekht to the governorship of the Cynopolitan canton.

A third Usurtasen, distinguished by the additional name of Sha-kaaenra, [illegible], now mounted the throne. We do not know his relationship to his predecessor, but it may be assumed as probable that he was either his son or his nephew. He reigned, according to Brugsch,[1] twenty-six, according to Birch,[2] thirty-eight years, and was one of the most distinguished monarchs of the twelfth dynasty. Manetho says,[3] that he was regarded by the Egyptians as the greatest of their early kings after Osiris; and it is certain that he was in such high repute with the monarchs of the eighteenth dynasty, that they worshipped him as a god and built temples in his honour.[4] It would seem that these exceptional distinctions were assigned to him mainly for one reason. He was regarded as the conqueror of Ethiopia. Whatever success had previously attended the efforts of his predecessors in this direction, Usurtasen III. was the king who broke the Ethiopian power, at any rate for a time, inflicting on "the miserable Kush" a series of defeats, after permanently attached to Egypt the tract known as Northern Nubia, or the entire valley of the Nile between the first and the second Cataract. Usurtasen began his military operations in his eighth year, and starting from Elephantine in the month Epiphi (May) moved southward with a fixed intention, which he expressed in an in-

[illegible] p. 137 [illegible] of Cook's [illegible] Speaker's Commentary, vol. i. p. 150; Rawlinson's Herodotus, vol. ii. p. 129.

[2] Ancient Egypt, p. 47.

[3] Ap. Syncell. Chronographia, vol. i. p. 190, B.

[4] De Rougé, Revue Archéologique, 1860, vol. i. pp. 473 et seqq.; Rawlinson's Egypt, vol. i. p. 291; Birch, Ancient Egypt, p. 47; Brugsch, History of Egypt, vol. i. pp. 161 et seq.; Wilkinson's Topography of Thebes, pp. 502 et seq.

scription set up upon the Elephantine island,[1] of reducing to subjection 'the miserable land of Kash.' His expedition was so far successful that in the same year he established two forts, just below the Second Cataract, one on either side of the Nile, and set up two pillars with inscriptions warning the black races that they were not to proceed further northwards, except with the object of importing into Egypt cattle, oxen, goats, or asses.[2] As, however, the tribes to the east and south were still unsubdued, further efforts were needed. Between the eighth and the sixteenth year, Usertesen III continued the war with persevering and ferocity in the tract between the Nile and the Red Sea, killing the men, carrying off the women and children, burning the standing crops, and otherwise embittering the struggle in a way that reminds us of the most inhuman razzias in the recent history of African warfare.[3] Far from being ashamed of these cruelties, he gloried in them, and pictured them on the stone columns of victory which in his sixteenth year he set up to commemorate his successes. Finally, in his nineteenth year, he again made an expedition southwards, chastised 'the miserable Kush once more,' and left a record of his victory at Abusir.

The forts built by Usertesen to protect his conquests are still visible on either bank of the Nile, a little below the Second Cataract, and bear the names of Kummeh and Semneh. They are massive constructions, built of numerous square blocks of granite and sandstone,[4] and placed upon two steep rocks which

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 130.

[2] *Ibid.* p. 130. See the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 136 *b*.

[3] Brugsch, p. 131; *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 136 *b*.

[4] Birch, *Egypt from the Earliest Times*, pp. 200–1.

rise up perpendicularly from the river. The columns on which he commemorated his conquests are also visible,[1] and are covered with inscriptions deeply cut into the stone. One of the inscriptions tells us that the king had permitted the erection of his statue at Semneh or the neighbourhood.[2] But up to the present time no traces of this interesting monument have been found. Usurtasen worked the inexhaustible quarries of Hat-nûmâh, and set up memorials there, in which he professed himself a worshipper of the god Mîn, or Khem.[3] In the island of Sehêl he exhibited himself as a devotee of Anka or Anuka.[4] His name appears also at Assouan[5] (Syene) and elsewhere.

It is not necessary to suppose that Usurtasen III., though regarded by the Egyptians themselves as one of their greatest kings, and consequently deified, was in reality a man of extraordinary ability. His actions may have contributed to form the character of that ideal Sesostris[6] whom the Egyptians paraded before the eyes of the Greeks and Romans as their great heroic monarch, but there was nothing really astounding in them, nothing really admirable. At the head of disciplined troops he gained repeated victories over the half-armed and untrained races, in part negro, in part Ethiopic, of the south. By a "continued merciless persecution,"

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 100, 1st ed.

[2] Birch says that he "set up his statue in the spot" (*Ancient Egypt* p. 177), but the inscription quoted by Brugsch (*History of Egypt* p. 102) merely states that he had given permission for its erection.

[3] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 136 *b*. Compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 106, 1st ed.

[4] *Denkmäler* pt. ii. pl. 136 *b*.

[5] Ibid. pl. 136 *c*.

[6] Manetho substituted the name of Sesostris for that of Usurtasen, according to both Eusebius and Africanus (ap. Syncel. *Chronographia* vol. i. p. 50 *b* and *c*, 51 *a* and *c*), and assigned him the reign which Herodotus ascribes to that monarch (ii. 102). He called the father of Rameses II., not Sesostris but Sethos.

[7] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 101, 1st ed.

ne so far humiliated them, that they were induced to submit to Egyptian supremacy, and to endure the loss of freedom and independence. And he understood the value of fortresses as a means of establishing a dominion, of riveting a detested yoke on a proud nation, and of nursing revolt to excess, if not impossible. He was also so far arabitious, so far desirous of posthumous fame, that he took care to have his deeds declared in words, and 'graven with an iron pen in the rock for ever.' But in this respect he merely followed the previous traditionary practice of the Egyptian kings, while in his conquests he only exceeded the limits reached by more than one of his predecessors. What gave him his fame was the fact that, having firmly settled in the Nile-valley, he was looking to whom its conquest was attributed,[2] and, as this was the only considerable tract which the monarchs of the old empire subjugated, those of the new built upon comparatively little, and sought for approval and admiration. When to him was said 'Thou hast conquered,' and he had been put on a par with the gods [which may be said],[3] myths and deeds naturally clustered about his name, the Sesostris legend grew up; Usimtasen became a giant more than seven feet high,[4] and the conqueror of Europa, Europe, and Asia. His *stelæ* were said to be found in Palestine, Asia Minor, Scythia, and Tartessus;[5] he left a colony at Colchis,[6] dug all the canals by which Egypt was in its most

[1] Job xxii. 24.

[2] Herod. ii. 110.

[3] Wilkinson, *Topography of Thebes*, p. 40. Brugsch, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. p. 201. Brugsch, *Hist. d'Egypte*, vol. i. pp. 162-4, 1st ed.

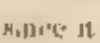
[4] Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* Lucr.

[5] Herod. ii. 103-6. The sculptures in Asia Minor ascribed by Herodotus to Sesostris are now said by Mr Sayce to be Hittite. They are certainly not Egyptian.

[6] Diod. ii. 103.

flourishing period intersected; invented geometry; and set up colossi above fifty feet in height![1]

According to M Lenormant,[2] Usurtasen III was buried in one of the brick pyramids at Dashoor; but this is not generally admitted by Egyptologists The fragment of a cartouche found by Perring in the *debris* of the north pyramid is quite insufficient to prove the supposed interment, since the term and element of a royal name, which was all that the cartouche contained, was one common to many monarchs[3]

The successor of Usurtasen III was another Amenemhat, the third of the name There is monumental evidence that he held the throne for forty-two years,[4] and, as this is the exact number of years assigned to him by the Turin papyrus, we may conclude that such was the total length of his reign The official name which he assumed on ascending the throne was Ra-n-maat,  This title is one of greater significance than usual, since it may be translated 'the sun of justice' or 'of righteousness,' and would naturally imply a special desire, on the part of the monarch who bore it, to rule justly and impartially over all his subjects Amenemhat's reign corresponded to this lofty announcement Instead of following in his predecessor's footsteps, and directing the forces of Egypt to the occupation of new territory, he, after one war with the negroes,[5] which was perhaps provoked by an incursion, threw the whole energy of himself and people into the accomplishment of an enterprise from which no glory was to be derived beyond that which is justly due to

[1] Diod i 59–61

[2] *Manuel of History* Ancienne vol i p 201

[3] As to Mun-kaura, Men-kau-her, Amenemhat II, Nefer-ka-ra II and others

[4] Lepsius, *History of Egypt*, vol i p 171 Eng ed

[5] Ibn

the conception and prosecution of wise measures tend [illegible] to increase greatly the prosperity of a numerous people. Egypt depends for its productiveness wholly upon the Nile, which each year at the time of the inundation spreads a fresh deposit of the richest alluvium over the entire region to which the waters extend at their highest. The uniformity of nature, even in those operations which seem most irregular, is surprising, and the inundation not only occurs without fail year after year, but begins and ends at the same time of year almost to a day, and for the most part observes a remarkable regularity in the height to which it reaches, and the limits whereto it extends.[1] Still, there are occasions when this uniformity is broken in upon. Now and then the rains in Abyssinia, which are the true cause of the annual overflow, fall less plentifully than usual, and the rise of the river is somewhat, or even considerably, below the average. The crops of the Egyptians under these circumstances grow faint. Only the lands close to the river bank are inundated, those at a greater distance lie parched and arid throughout the entire summer, and fail to produce a blade of grass or a spike of corn. Famine stares the people in the face, and unless large supplies of grain have been laid up in store previously, or can be readily imported, the actual starvation of thousands is the necessary consequence.[2] On the other hand, sometimes, though rarely, the fountains of the heavens are opened, and the Abyssinian rainfall being excessive, the river rises beyond the expected height

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 20.

[2] On Egyptian famines, see the *Description de l'Egypte*, vol. v. p. 603, and compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 153–4, 1st ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 56; Hawkins, *Historical Illustrations of the Old Testament*, pp. 52–3.

Calamitous results at once ensue. The mounds erected to protect the cities, the villages, and the pasture lands, are surmounted or washed away, the houses, built often of mud, collapse; cattle are drowned; human life itself is imperilled, and the evils suffered are almost worse than those which follow upon a deficient flood.[1] To save Egypt from the two opposite dangers arising from an excessive and a defective Nile, by far the works are required on the largest scale: reservoirs have to be provided of vast extent, wherein the superfluous water of an overabundant inundation may be received and detained, the pressure upon embankments being thus removed, and from which again the precious fluid may be dispensed in the case of a deficient Nile, and the forgetfulness of nature compensated by the providence and care of man. It is doubtful whether real progress ever was done in this matter that might be known, but at any rate it is clear that Amenemhat III made one great effort in the right direction, and executed the most important work of the kind, and that with an engineering skill and ability that are remarkable. Taking advantage of the existence of a natural depression in the desert to the west of Egypt,[2] extending over an area of nearly 400 square miles, he formed in the south-eastern part of this space a vast artificial basin or lake—known to the Greeks as Lake Mœris[3]—which extended from north to south

[1] Compare above, vol. i. p. 172, and see Herodot. *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 186, in Rawlinson's *Ancient Egypt*; p. 60, in Lenormant's *Manual of History*, Lawrence, vol. i. p. 87.

[2] The desert generally is considerably above the level of the valley of the Nile, the lower part of the Fayoum not 140 feet below it (Ibid. p. 101, 140; Ibid. Sect. i. 26; Strab. xvii. 1. § 37). The old writers that the Birket-el-Kerum represents the Lake Mœris, is supported by the important authority of Jomard (*Description*

[3] Herodot. ii. 149; Diod. Sic. i. 51; Strab. xvii. 1. § 37. The old writers that the Birket-el-Kerum represents the Lake Mœris, is supported by the important authority of Jomard (*Description*

a distance of fourteen miles,[1] and from east to west a distance varying from six miles to eleven. The area of the lake is estimated at 405,479,000 square metres,[2] or about 480,000,000 square yards. It occupied an elevated position between two comparatively low tracts, the valley of the Nile on the one side, and the north western portion of the Fayoum upon the other. A canal, derived from the *Bahr Yousuf*, or western branch of the Nile, cut partly in the rock,[3] supplied the lake with water, when the Nile was high, and afforded a sensible relief in times of pressure from high flood. Through the same canal water could be drawn from the lake when the Nile was low, and a large tract along the base of the Libyan range could thus be irrigated, when a low inundation did not reach.[4] At the same time, all that portion of the Fayoum which lay outside the lake, to the north and west, or about three-fourths of its surface, might be kept under constant cultivation by means of the water which could be supplied to it from the great reservoir. A vast dam or dyke, forty feet high in places, partly of sound masonry, partly of earth and pebbles, formed the boundary of

de l'Egypte, 'Antiquités,' vol. v. pp. 70–74, is now pretty generally explored. The investigations of M. Linant de Bellefonds embodied in his work *Mémoire sur le lac Moeris* (Alexandria, 1843) and that of Wilkinson (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 200, note 7, 3rd edit., and more fully, *Egypt's Past*, vol. i. pp. 325–50) and his conclusions have been adopted by almost all recent critics. They are however strongly impugned by Dean Blakesley (*Herodotus with a Commentary*, vol. i. p. 483 sq.).

[1] See the map opposite which follows M. Linant de Bellefonds, and compare Herod. ii. 149, which gives the lake this direction. The Birket el Keroun runs nearly from east to west.

[2] Linant de Bellefonds, *Mémoire*, p. 20.

[3] Ibid. p. 18.

[4] Herod. ii. 149. Strab. xvii. 1, § 37. The calculations of M. Linant de Bellefonds (pp. 9–21) show that the waters of the lake besides irrigating the eastern and western portions of the Fayoum, would have sufficed for the supply of the whole western bank of the Nile from Beni-Souef to the embouchure at Cairo-pus during one half of the year.

MAP OF THE PARK SHOWING THE HENRY ALLBROOK AND THE ARTIFICIAL LAKE MERIT

the reservoir to the north and west, while southward and eastward it extended to the range of hills which separates between the basin of the Fayoum and the Nile valley. The artificial barrier ran a little east of north, from Tiahi in the south to Biamo in the centre of the Fayoum, a distance of fifteen miles; at Biamo it made a right angle, and was then carried in a line a little south of east from Biamo, past El Ellam and El Eaton, to the eastern range in about lat. 29° 2b', making a distance of about twelve miles more. Thus the entire dyke had a length of twenty seven miles, and, if it be regarded as averaging thirty feet in height, and at least the same in width,[1] would have contained a mass of material amounting to nearly forty-eight millions of cubic yards, or three-sevenths more than the cubic contents of the Great Pyramid of Ghizah.[2] In connection with the canal and reservoir, a system of sluices and floodgates was set up, whereby the flow of the water was regulated as the interests of agriculture required.[3]

At the same time special pains were taken to ascertain before-hand what the rise of the Nile was likely to be; and for this purpose a Nilometer was established at the newly occupied station of Semneh, where from the time of Amenemhat III the height of the inundation was daily marked upon the rocky bank of the river, with a short inscription giving the regnal year of the monarch.[4] It is a remarkable fact that the average

[1] Towards the north the width of the embankment, according to M. de Bellefonds, p. 101, was sixty metres, or nearly 200 feet; but the rest is only at the base.

[2] M. Ledormant observes, with justice, that the works constructed by Amenemhat III were as vast as those of the fourth dynasty and even notably more useful. (*Manual of Ancient History*, vol. i. p. 85.)

[3] Diod. Sic. i. 52, § 2; Strab. l. c.

[4] Renouf, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 197, 1st ed.

annual rise under Amenemhat at Semneh in Nubia exceeded that of the present day by more than twenty three feet.[1] As the rise in Egypt itself seems to be nearly the same now as under the twelfth dynasty,[2] we must account for the difference at Semneh by local causes, the course of the Nile must have been recently blocked by rocks which have given way, and the water must thus have been held back in Nubia, and prevented from flowing off rapidly. No great difference would have been produced in Egypt by the removal of the obstacles, except perhaps that the inundation would have come on somewhat more rapidly, and its duration have been a little diminished.

While engaged in the completion of his great work of utility in the region of the Fayoum, Amenemhat also undertook some constructions, partly of a monumental, of an ornamental and artistic character. At a point on the eastern side of his reservoir, projecting into it towards the west, he built what seems really to have been a palace, but what the Greeks and Romans called a "Labyrinth," and believed to be an architectural puzzle.[3] It was constructed of white silicious limestone and red granite,[4] and comprised, we are told,[5] 3,000 chambers, half above ground, and half below it. Besides chambers, it possessed numerous colonnades and courts, covered with sculptures, and roofed, Herodotus says,[6] with stone. At one corner was a pyramid, 240 feet

[1] Bunsen, Egypt's Place, &c. (compare Fresh Anc. of Egypt, p. 69).

[2] See vol. i. p. [illegible] note [illegible].

[3] Herod. ii. 148. Mœris ap. Strabo, Geograph. xvii. i. p. 787. Diod. Sic. i. 61. Strab. xvii. i. § 37; &c.

[4] See Plin. H. N. xxxvii. 19, where the work of Amenemhat is compared with that ascribed to Daidalos.

[5] Wilkinson in the author's Herodotus, vol. ii. p. 220, note [illegible], 3rd ed.

[6] Herod. ii. 148.

[7] Ibid.

high, according to our authority, and, according to modern measurements, 300 feet square at the base.[1]

To supply the materials for his constructions, Amenemhat had recourse to the quarries of Hammamât, where inscriptions belonging to his reign[2] record the instructions which he gave to his officers on various occasions, and in one instance his own personal presence in connection with ornamental work for the Luxor temple, including a colossal statue of himself to be set up at the provincial capital.[3]

He also worked the mines of the Sinaitic region, both those of Wady Maghara and the more recently established ones of the Serabit el Khadim. At both places there are tablets executed during his reign; and at the former they are numerous, and cover the period extending from his second to his forty second year.[4] At the Serabit el Khadim they include a notice of the erection of a temple to Athor,[5] the reputed 'mistress' of the country, who at once presided over the copper mines and was the 'lady of turquoises'.[6]

Amenemhat III was succeeded by another monarch of the same name, whom Manetho calls Ammenemes,[7] and to whom he assigns a reign of eight years. The Turin papyrus gives him nine years, three months, and seventeen days, which is probably the true duration of his reign. His sister, Sabak-nefru-ra, , whom he seems to have associated, reigned conjointly with him during the last four years of this period

[1] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 60.
[2] *Records of the Past*, vol. vii. p. 50.
[3] Apion, *Chronographi*, vol. i. p. 99, a.
[4] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 71, 1st ed.
[5] Idid

Both appear to have interested themselves in the works of the Fayoum, where their names are found,[1] and where they are thought by some to have been interred.[2] The two pyramids crowned with colossal statues, seen by Herodotus to rise out of the waters of the Lake Moeris,[3] are identified with the stone bases now existing at Ilamu,[4] at the north-western angle of the lake, and are thought to have borne the effigies of these monarchs, whose names have been found on various blocks of stone in this region. Amenemhat IV seems also to have worked the mines of the Wady Magarah and the Sarabut-el-Khadim,[5] where the labours of the workmen were still rewarded by rich yields of copper and *mafka*.[6] But the period as, on the whole, one upon which the monuments throw little light. As so often happens, a dynasty of unusual vigour and energy expires and clouds and darkness supervene; effort is succeeded by fulness and inaction, life and movement by exhaustion; nor is it until a considerable space has passed that the roll of history once more unfolds to us events of interest and personages of importance.

It has been said that Egypt under this dynasty enjoyed its apogee, and that its ordinary frontiers now the fullest expansion which it ever reached under the

[1] *Denkmaler* pt. ii. pl. 140. Compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 171, 1st ed., Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 72.

[2] Birch, p. 72; Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii. p. 76.

[3] Herod. ii. 149. Herodotus probably beheld Lake Moeris from the site of the Labyrinth. At the horizon, between seven and eight miles off, he would see the pyramids of Hamu crowned with their statues. (Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. pl. xi. p. 97.) The lake would seem to have been on either side of the pyramids, and he would not be able to see it at all as extending beyond Hamu.

[4] Bunsen, vol. i. p. 254.

[5] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 72.

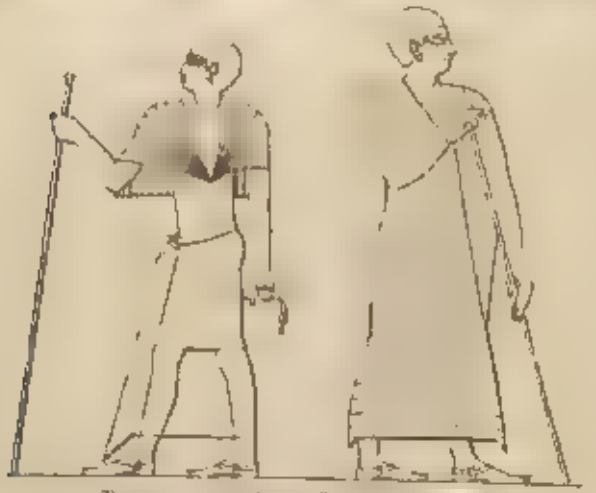
[6] The results of the hieroglyphical inscriptions as recorded by Dr. Brugsch as 'the turquoise' (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 172, 1st ed.,

Pharaohs.[1] There is considerable difficulty in balancing one period against another in the history of a civilised state, and in deciding when, on the whole, the highest perfection was arrived at. In our own country the Elizabethan age has its admirers, the reign of Queen Anne is by some regarded as the true Augustan period; while there is a class who maintains that no former period equals the glories of the present day. There are various grounds on which the times of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties may be upheld as the culminating period of Egyptian greatness, alike in arms and in arts. But the eulogy which has been passed upon the period of the twelfth, even if it be undue, has beyond a doubt some important grounds on which it may support itself.

Civilisation, as observed in the preceding chapter,[2] took from the time of the eleventh dynasty, and under the presidency of Thebes, a practical and unromantic turn. The great efforts of the principal monarchs of both the eleventh and twelfth dynasties had very markedly this character. New openings were made for trade, new routes established and provided with wells and guards, forts built to check invasion, mines worked, the Nile carefully watched and measured, and finally a huge reservoir made, and a gigantic system of irrigation established in the Fayoum and along the whole of the western bank of the river from Ben-Souef to the shores of the Mediterranean. Commercial intercourse was at the same time established with the Nubians, who furnished cattle, gold, and slaves; with the East African tribes (and through them with Arabia,

[1] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 353.
[2] Supra, p. 130.

and perhaps India for spices, gums, rare woods, precious stones, and wonderful animals, and with the Syrians for *kohl* or stibium,[1] ladanum, and balsam.[2] Foreign emigrants were readily received into the country, and brought with them new fashions in dress and customs, perhaps sometimes new inventions or even new arts.[3] Luxury increased. Palaces were painted and adorned with gold,[4] carpets were spread upon their floors;[5] and the number of courts and chambers was multiplied beyond former precedent.[6] Varieties in dress were introduced. While the simple linen tunic still contented the great mass of men, there were some



Dresses worn under the Twelfth Dynasty

Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. i. p. 157. Ist ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt* p. 98.

[1] Gen. xxxvii. 25.

[2] See the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 139 a. The sea arranged here carried by one of the merchants (pl. 139 b) is of a form quite new in Egypt at this period.

[3] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 14–16, § 13.

[4] Ibid. p. 19, § 11.

[5] Herod. ii. 148. Allowing for a large amount of exaggeration, we must not conclude from the account given by the writer that the number of apartments in the palace, known as the Labyrinth, was prodigious.

who affected a more elaborate style of costume, and wore, besides the tunic, a cape over their shoulders, and a second tunic, of a thinner material, over the first, or even a long robe, reaching nearly to the ankles.[1] Bracelets and anklets were inlaid with precious stones, and the former worn by both men and women, but the latter by women only.[2] Men had sometimes artificial beards, which seem to have been attached to the wig.[3] The low-backed chair without arms was still in common use; but another is seen, which has a high back, and also arms.[4] Houses began to be adorned with colonnades, the pillars of which imitated the lotus blossom. Field sports were pursued with increased ardour. Gentlemen of the highest rank not only indulged in fowling, as formerly, but speared fish with their own hand, and hunted the lion[5] and the antelope.

Dog resembling a Turnspit.

Great attention was paid to the breed of dogs, and several new types were produced, more especially one with short legs, resembling the modern turnspit.[6] In moving about their estates, the grandees had them-

[1] *Denkmäler*, pl. ii. p. 134, *b*, *d*, *e*.
[2] Ibid. pls. 128 and 130.
[3] Ibid. pls. 130, 132.
[4] Ibid. pl. 128, upper line.
[5] A lion is represented as wounded by two arrows, one of which is depicted upon the tomb of Khnumhotep (*Denkmäler*, pl. ii. pl. 129). That kings hunted the lion at this period appears from the 'Lettre à M. de Saulcy' (*Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes*, vol. i. p. 1).
[6] Birch in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. iv. p. 177. Compare the *Denkmäler*, pl. ii. pl. 131, and for other varieties of the canine species see pp. 132 and 134.

selves carried in highly ornamented litters, which were slung on two poles and borne on the shoulders of four men.[1] To amuse their leisure hours in their homes, they admitted into their apartments professional tumblers,[2] who were generally fair-haired and light-complexioned, and are thought to have been Libyans from the northern parts of Africa.[3]

Architecture somewhat lowered its pretensions. Instead of the enormous pyramids of the early period, the kings now constructed for their tombs either pyramids of moderate size, or merely underground chambers,[4] upon which they emplaced other buildings. The style of their temples seems to have been massive, but wanting in ornamentation. They, however, introduced certain new features into their architectural works which were striking, and employed others upon a scale which had not been previously adopted. Of the latter kind was their use of the obelisk,[5] while under the former head must be classed their erection of colossal statues upon the top of truncated pyramids.[6] In some of their buildings they fastened the stones together with metal cramps.[7] If the Labyrinth, as seen by Herodotus, was really the work of a king of the twelfth dynasty,[8] we must ascribe to the period a certain

[1] *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 130. For a representation see above, vol. i. p. 5.

[2] See above, vol. i. p. 274, and compare *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 120, upper row.

[3] Rosellini, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 4 and 1.5, Ital. ed.

[4] Ibid. vol. i. p. 148.

[5] On the early date at which the form of the obelisk was known to the Egyptians, see above, p. 37.

[6] Herod. ii. 148. It is clear that a pyramid must have been truncated to allow of the superposition of a colossal statue. The contrary notion can scarcely have been ever entertained. (See Hamilton's Architectural restoration of the two pyramids of Dashur, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii. pl. 20.)

[7] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 14.

[8] Probably it had been greatly added to by later kings before the time of Herodotus's visit.

amount of architectural magnificence, though in any case the admiration of Herodotus for the edifice seems to have been overstrained and beyond its merits.[1]

The finest columns, which have been called 'Proto-Doric,'[2] belong to the times whereof we are speaking,[3] and were used in the fronts of excavated tombs constructed for themselves and their families by the nobles. These tombs were of extraordinary dimensions, and in some instances most elaborately carved and painted with scenes from real life, similar in their general character to those of the Pyramid period.[4] The reliefs are remarkable for harmony, elegance, and accuracy of workmanship,[5] but have less vigour, less reality and life, than those of the first period. Conventionalism is more apparent in them, hieratic canons are in force, and each figure is designed with strict regard to an established law of proportions. Sculpture in the round reaches a higher degree of excellence; and a fragment from a colossal statue of King Usurtasen I., discovered at Tanis, and now in the Berlin Museum, is viewed as 'the *chef d'œuvre* of the art of the first empire, and as leaving little to be desired.'[6]

The chief modifications of the religion worthy of remark are, first, the distinct elevation of Ammon to the headship of the Pantheon, indicated by the erection in his honour of the *great* temple at the capital, by the position which he occupies on the obelisk of Usur-

[1] Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 226, note 5, 2nd ed.

[2] See above, vol. i. p. 213.

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 154, 1st ed.; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 253.

[4] See especially the tomb of Khnumhotep, represented in the *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pls. 130–132 (Lenormant, loc. cit.).

[5] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 178, 1st ed.

tasen I. in the Fayoum,[1] and by the frequent employment of his name as an element in the appellations of kings and other great personages,[2] secondly, the advance of Sabak from a local and subordinate position to one of high rank among the universal divinities of the country,[3] and thirdly, the more positive and general recognition of the absolute divinity of the kings. Sabak's advance is the natural consequence of the prominence given to the canton of the Fayoum by the later monarchs of the dynasty,—as the crocodile-headed god had been from a very ancient date the special local deity of that district, and the crocodile itself was always viewed as sacred there. Ammon's elevation is more difficult to account for, since he does not appear to have been *anciently* of much account in Thebes,[4] if he was even known there, which is doubtful. His position seems the result of the accident that a private monument, in whose name his was the chief element, happened to raise himself to the throne. Amenemhat I. at once began the temple, which gradually became the greatest in Egypt, his son, Usurtasen I., continued the work, and assigned to Ammon the first and highest place on his Fayoum obelisk. He also gave to his eldest son the name of Ammon,[5] and to another, apparently, that of Amenemhat. Henceforth Ammon's place at the

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[1] Supra p. 140. A name he [illegible] the first place [illegible] the highest compartment [illegible] monument.

[2] See Brugsch *History of Egypt*, [illegible] pp. 140 [illegible] *Guide to Gallleries* pp. 20, 27, 33, 34, &c.

[3] Sabak is represented in the [illegible] of the Fayoum [illegible] and placed on a par with Thoth and before Isis, Set, Sothis, Anuke, Khem and Horus. (*Monuments* pl. 1. pl. 116.) He also becomes prominent in moral and [illegible] between Chnemu. *History of Egypt*, vol. [illegible] p. 134, 1st ed. 116-1, *Guide to Galleries*, pp. 5, 20, 27, 41, &c.

[4] Compare above, p. 98.

[5] Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. [illegible] p. 105, 1st ed.

head of the Theban gods was well ascertained, and the predominance of Thebes in the later history gave him ultimately a pre-eminence over all the other deities throughout Egypt.

The *quasi*-divinity of the kings had always been asserted by themselves, and no doubt in the language of adulation familiar to courtiers it had occasionally been admitted, even from an early date. But it is not till the time of the twelfth dynasty that acknowledgments, made in the most *naïf* and innocent fashion, become common and seem to be a matter of course. 'When I was brought to Egypt,' says Sanchi, 'it was as though a god was in it; and such as one which a benificent god presides over he spoke to me, and I answered him, saying, "Save us!" His son comes home . . . he also is a god.'[1] And again, he addresses the Pharaoh as follows—'Thy majesty is the good god . . . the great god, the equal of the Sun-God.'[2] And when, at the invitation of the monarch, he returns to Egypt from Lebanon, he remarks: 'When I came near him, I fell upon my belly amazed before him. *The god* addressed me mildly.'[3] Similarly, Khnumhotep two Lakes of Usurtasen I.: 'The god Tum he is himself.'[4] How far these acknowledgments were mere flattery, how far they represented the sincere belief of the Egyptians, it is impossible to determine; but in either case they must have exerted an injurious influence upon the minds of the monarchs themselves, who were puffed up by the high titles bestowed on them, and became impressed with an undue sense of their own importance and dignity. The pride which

[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. p. 137.
[2] Ibid. p. 145.
[3] Ibid. p. 148.
[4] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 160, ii. 75, 76, 1st ed.

made the Pharaoh of the Exodus, time after time, 'harden his heart,' and oppose himself to the declared will of Jehovah, was the natural consequence of a system which caused weak men to believe in the reality of their own divinity, and strong-minded men to feel an extreme contempt for others.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE DYNASTIES BETWEEN THE TWELFTH AND THE SEVENTEENTH.

The Thirteenth (Theban) Dynasty in part contemporary with the Fourteenth (Xoite) and the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Shepherd Dynasties of Egypt at this period. Names and many Memorials of the Kings. Permanent Works. Pressure on the North-eastern Frontier. Invasion brought about by previous disorder and disintegration.

Vain verses in stone, perhaps lies — Jay, ch. 20

The four dynasties, wherewith Manetho filled this interval, are regarded by most Egyptologists as ruling contemporaneously in either three or four places.[1] The thirteenth dynasty bore sway in Thebes, and held possession of Middle and Upper Egypt, while the fourteenth maintained itself at Xois in the centre of the Delta,[2] and the fifteenth and sixteenth ruled, either consecutively or contemporaneously, over some portion of the more eastern districts. Manetho's numbers for this period are untrustworthy, and, where not false, are misleading. The thirteenth dynasty may, for instance, have included sixty royal personages,[3] but we gather from the Turin Papyrus that they were

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 194, 1st edit.; Birch, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii. pp. 143-7; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. pp. 358-60; Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 240-51, 3rd edit.

[2] Xois is the modern Sakha (Egypt *Khasaa*) in the lower portion of the tract between the Damietta and Rosetta mouths, about lat. 31° 10′ N., long. 30° 30′ E., and north-west of Sebennytus.

[3] Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronographia*, vol. i. p. 91, a.

pretenders to the throne, rather than real kings, and that the average time during which each one of them bore the royal title was about three or three and a half years.[1] It is not unlikely that in many instances they contended one against another, and some of them certainly, many of them possibly, reigned no more than a few months or a few days. On the other hand, there seem to have been, in the earlier part of the thirteenth dynasty, some monarchs of note, and it is thought that for a certain number of years the dynasty bore away over the whole country, disruption not having set in until they had held the throne for two centuries or two centuries and a half.[2] Such real notions of time are, however, exceedingly uncertain. The kings of the period, as a general rule, left no monuments, and, until forced by the curiosity of the Greeks to make chronological conjectures, the Egyptians themselves had no estimate of the date of any dynasty, much less of these undistinguished ones.

It is difficult to conjecture the causes which, after so glorious a dynasty as the twelfth, suddenly reduced Egypt under the thirteenth to impotence and disunion. There is no indication of foreign invasion, at any rate for a century or two after Amenemhat IV and Sebek-nefru-re set up their monuments at the edge of the Lake Moeris, but from some cause or other a gap occurs in the Egyptian records, and if it were not for a single fragile document the papyrus of Turin—the very names of the kings would have been blotted out. Internal troubles are suggested as the most probable cause of the long silence; and the latest

[1] See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 195 *et seq.* Compare Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 350.

[2] Ibid. pp. 185–91.

writer on the subject ventures to lay it down as 'almost certain, that the history of Egypt at this epoch must have been made up of times of revolt and interior troubles, and murders and assassinations, by which the life and length of reign of the princes was not subjected to the ordinary conditions of human existence.'[1] The kings appear to have maintained the practice of ruling under two names—a real personal appellative, and a throne-name, or title of honour assumed at their accession; though it is not often that both designations have come down to us. They must have maintained persistently the worship of Sebak, the crocodile-headed god, affected by the preceding dynasty, since at least seven of them bore the name of Sebak-hotep, which is translated 'servant of Sebak' by Dr Brugsch,[2] and they must also have been devoted adherents of Ra, the Sun-God, whose name is found to have formed an element in at least two-thirds of the royal appellations of the period. Ammon, on the other hand, if less identified with Ra, of which there is no evidence, must have been in comparative disfavour, since his name occurs but once in the entire list, and then nearly at the commencement, where we come upon a Ra-Amen-em-hat. Nut and Nefer-Tum seem also to have received recognition from the dynasty, who, so far as the evidence of their names goes, admitted but a narrow Pantheon.

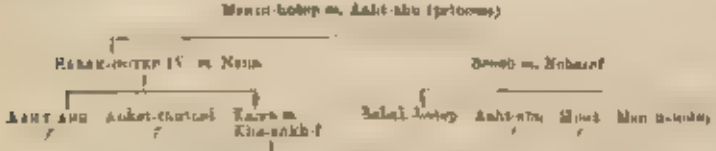
The dynasty commences with a Sebak-hotep, or , who bears the throne-name of Ra khā-tawi, , and may possibly have been a son of Sebak-nefrura,[3] but who has left no monument, and is only

[1] Brugsch, vol. i. p. 154. Lenormant, *Histoire ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. ii. p. 208.

[2] But p. 86. I do not know the exact force of the name 'servant' among the nations of Africa in Ham. (See the *Dictionary of Languages* in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v. p. 208 &c.)

[3] As Dr Brugsch supposes (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 161, note).

known to us from the Turin Papyrus. He was followed after an interval by Ra-Sabak-hotep or Sabak-hotep II., whose throne-name is not known. A third Sabak-hotep, distinguished as Ra-sokhem-khu-taui, , mounted the throne soon afterwards, and left an inscription recording the height of the Nile at Semneh, which he set up in the third year of his reign.[1] Four kings intervened between this Sabak-hotep and the next, who was known as Ra-sokhem-sut-taui, , and left granite statues inscribed with his name at Tanis in the Delta.[2] This monarch appears to have been the son of a certain Mentu-hotep who was not of royal race, and to have derived his claim to sovereignty from his mother, a princess called Aaht-abu.[3] He married a wife, whose name was Nenu, and had by her three children, all of whom were daughters. The eldest received the name of her royal grandmother, and this name is found surrounded with the cartouche, but the crown descended in the line of the third daughter, Kaua, whose son Nefer-hotep appears in the Turin Papyrus as the immediate successor of Sabak-hotep IV.[4] The genealogical tree of this family may be drawn out as follows:—

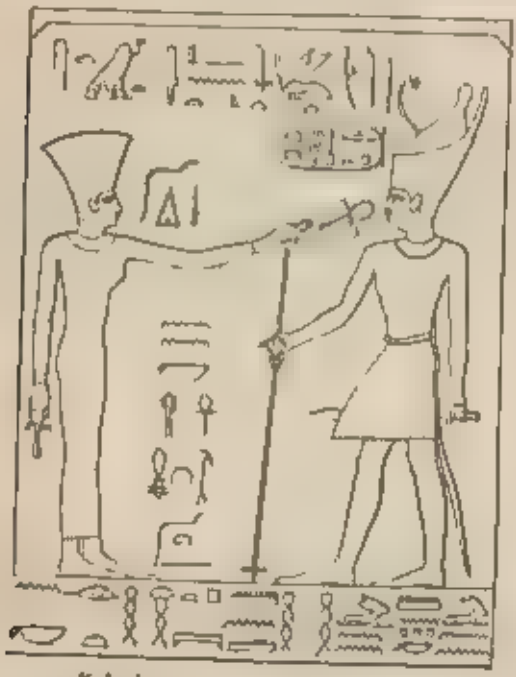


Sabak-hotep IV., Nefer-hotep, Sa-Hathor and Sabak-hotep V. appear as consecutive monarchs in the Turin Papyrus list.

[1] *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 151 *c*. [2] Brugsch, p. 182; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 74.

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, pp. 190 f. [4] Ibid. p. 182.

More than a common interest attaches to Nefer hotep, He bears the throne-name of Shā-seses-ra, , and has left various monuments, principally in Upper Egypt. One of these is a tablet to Khem and Knepta, bearing the figures of those gods, which he set up in the island of Konosso.[1] Another, from the same locality, represents Khem, Menta, and Sati;[2] while a third, in the island of Schol near Philæ, represents the



Nefer-hotep receives life from Anuka.

monarch himself receiving 'life' as a gift from the goddess Anuka or Anuka.[3] He also set up an inscription at

[1] *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 151 *f*. [2] Ibid. pl. 151 *g*. [3] Ibid. pl. 151 *h*.

Assouan,[1] on which he commemorated the members of his family.

Sebak-hotep V, who succeeded his brother Sebekhor, and took the throne-name of Sha nefer-ra, left an inscription in the island of Argo near Dongola, and set up his statue at Bubastis in the Delta,[2] thus showing that he held possession of the whole valley of the Nile from the borders of Ethiopia to the Mediterranean. He was followed after a short interval by Sebak-hotep VI, who reigned as Sha ankh ra, and dedicated a memorial to the god Khem at Abydos, which is now in the Museum of Leyden.[3]

The unnamed successor of Sebak-hotep VI was another king of the same name, distinguished by the additional designation of Sha hotep ra. This is the last monarch of the dynasty who bore the favourite designation. He reigned, according to the Turin papyrus, somewhat less than five years, and after his decease the crown seems to have passed to a different family.

It may have been about this time, when the dynasty had held the throne for one or two centuries, that pressure began upon the eastern frontier. A nomadic race, whose proper habitat was Syria or North-Western Arabia, increased rapidly in power and population on this side of Egypt, and, assuming an aggressive attitude, threatened to effect a lodgment in the more eastern portion of the Delta. Already, for a considerable period, there had been on this side an influx of Asiatic immigrants chiefly of Semitic origin, Egypt offering a ready asylum to discontented or needy

[1] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 74; *Denkmäler*, pl. 161 a.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. i. p. 192, 1st ed.

[3] Ibid.

fugitives, who saw in the great monarchy of the South a sort of "fairyland of wealth, culture, and wisdom."[1] The immigration of Jacob's sons with their extensive household[2] is but a single instance of what was perpetually occurring in this quarter. We have already noticed[3] another example in the arrival of the thirty-seven Amu welcomed by Khnum-hotep in the sixth year of Usurtasen II. So numerous were the incomers that Semitic names obtained a place in the geographic nomenclature of this part of the country,[4] and a certain number of Semitic words even crept in to the Egyptian language.[5] The Semite deities also secured a certain amount of recognition from the Egyptian hierarchy,[6] who were never averse to an increase in the number of objects of worship, and gave as hospitable a reception to Baal, Ashtoreth, Anatis, Resheph, and Sutekh, when they knocked at the doors of the Pantheon, as the civil rulers did to the kinsmen of Joseph or to the Amu-nin-ar Aamu.[7]

The state of things thus existing was well calculated to facilitate a hostile occupation of the more eastern parts of the Delta. Already the population was half Asiatic, and prepared to submit itself readily to Asiatic rule. So long, however, as peace reigned at Thebes, and monarchs, acknowledged as such by the whole of Egypt, had it in their power to direct the entire force of the country against an invader, invasion was not likely to take place. The Amu of the East, whether

[1] Kurtz, *History of the Old Covenant*, vol. i. p. 2.

[2] Exod. Kurtz, *History of the Old Covenant*, vol. ii. p. 260. Dean Payne Smith, *Bampton Lectures* for 1868, pp. 72 et seqq.

[3] Supra, p. 166.

[4] As Migdol (Ta-kaour'a), whence the Greek Magdolon, Succoth (Tekou). Etham (Khetam), &c.

[5] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 210 ff., 1st ed.

[6] Ibid. pp. 213–19.

[7] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 90.

Mentu, Kharu, Khita, or Shasu, would have been powerless against a united Egypt, and their undisciplined forces would have dashed themselves in vain against the serried phalanx of the trained Egyptian troops. But when at Thebes pretender rose up against pretender, when disturbance followed disturbance, and scarcely any prince succeeded in maintaining even the semblance of authority for more than two or three years,[1] then the failure of vital power at the heart of the nation was not slow in communicating itself to the extremities. Whether the first result was the revolt of the Western Delta, and the second the conquest by foreigners of the more eastern tracts, or whether the order of these two movements was inverted, and foreign invasion produced a domestic revolt, there are no sufficient data to determine; but it would seem that, long before the feeble and multitudinous princes of the thirteenth dynasty had ceased to reign at Thebes, the Western Delta had become independent under a line of native princes who held their court at Xois,[2] and the Eastern Delta had been occupied by invaders of nomad habits and probably of Semitic race. At Xois we are told that there were seventy-six kings in a hundred and eighty four years,[3] which would imply a state of continual disturbance in that locality. Towards the East two Shepherd dynasties bore rule, Manetho's fifteenth and sixteenth, either contemporaneously in two adjacent kingdoms, or consecutively over the whole Eastern Delta. But the main seat of empire was still

[1] See the list of kings in Brugsch *History of Egypt* vol. i. p. 198, *et seq.* After Mamestes-Ra the twenty-ninth king of the dynasty no monarch is said to have reigned more than three years and a month or two.

[2] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne* vol. i. p. 340.

[3] Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 91, A.

supposed to be Thebes. It was not till a fresh movement took place among the tribes upon the eastern frontier, and a fresh invasion was made in force, that the Old Empire was regarded as destroyed, and a foreign people as established in possession of the entire country.

CHAPTER XIX

THE MIDDLE EMPIRE—CONQUEST OF EGYPT BY THE HYKSOS.

Certainty of the Hyksos Conquest. Growing Power of the Tribes to the East of the Isthmus—the Sakkâ—the Kharu—the Shasu. Temptations offered by Egypt to Invaders. First Conquests effected in her Territory. Consequent Excitement among the Eastern Tribes. Question of the Nationality of the Hyksos. Circumstances of the Conquest. Character of the Hyksos Rule. Advantages which it conferred on Egypt. Reigns of the Hyksos Kings. Apepi's Quarrel with Ra-Sekenen. Ra-aa-ken and Aa-ken-ra. Invasion of the Hyksos. Supposed Synchronism of Joseph with Apepi.

Manetho fragment. ed. Müller, p. 446. Ἐπὶ τούτων ἀνέβη ἐκ τῆς ἀνατολῆς ἄνεμος ἐπὶ τὰ μέρη ἐκεῖνα καὶ ἐπιπεσὼν ἀδοκήτως ἐκυρίευσε τῆς χώρας. Manetho ap. Syncell. Chronograph. vol. i. p. 61, a.

THE conquest of Egypt by an alien people, who continued to be the dominant power in the country for above two centuries, was asserted by Manetho in the most positive terms,[1] and, though long disbelieved by modern critics,[2] has become through recent discovery an acknowledged fact. The Middle Empire of Manetho—a time of humiliation for the Egyptians, a time of stagnation, barren of art, barren of literature, barren of monuments—is at the present day admitted on all hands,[3] and controversy is shifted to the questions of

[1] Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 61, a; Joseph. *Contr. Apion.* i. 14.

[2] See Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii. pp. 416–18.

[3] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 74–77. Lenormant, *Manual of History*, Ancient vol. i. pp. 235–35. Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii. pp. 424–60. Wilkinson in his notes on *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 350–2. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 227

the nationality of the conquerors, the true character of their domination, and the real length of the time that it lasted. Two native documents, one on stone, the other on papyrus,[1] have proved beyond a question the fact of the foreign rule; two names of the alien rulers have been recovered from the inscriptions of the country, and though a deep obscurity still rests upon the period, upon the persons of the conquerors and the circumstances of the conquest—an obscurity which we can scarcely hope to see dispelled—yet 'the Middle Empire' has at any rate now taken its place in history as a definite reality requiring consideration, inquiry, and, so far as is possible, description.

It would seem that a dark cloud had long lain along the north-eastern frontier of Egypt, in that tolerably broad tract which joins Africa to Asia, where alone the head of Mizraim was readily assailable,[2] and which it was impossible to block against a determined enemy. On this side Egypt had had her first wars. To gain and hold the mineral treasures of the Sinaitic peninsula, it had been necessary to reduce to subjection its existing occupants, and so far back as the time of Senefer,[3] the natives of these parts, called by the Egyptians sometimes Anu, sometimes Pet, sometimes Mentu, had been attacked by the arms of the Pharaohs,

89, 1st ed., Street Door in *Cintemporary Review* for February 1870, pp. 470–81, &c.

The one on stone is the inscription of Ahmes which exists in a rock-tomb at El-Kab (Eileithyia), and which has been published *in extenso* by Lepsius (*Denkmäler* pl. vii. pl. 11) and translated by M. Le Page Renouf and others. (See *Records of the Past* vol. vi. pp. 7–10, Brugsch *History of Egypt* vol. i. pp. 245–61, 1st ed., De Rougé, in the *Mémoires d'Institut Franc. Sc. et L.*, &c.) The document on papyrus forms the first fragment of what is also the first sheet of Papyrus Harris (given in the fifth volume of Birch's *Egypt* pp. 73–81, and has been translated by Dr. Lauth in the *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. pp. 3–4.

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 80.

[2] See above, p. 48.

despoiled of territory, and forced to make acknowledgment of subjection. At this early date the Asiatics were few and weak, and the Egyptians experienced no difficulty in maintaining their authority over the Sinaitic region and the line of road which led to it. But by the time of the twelfth dynasty population had greatly increased in these parts, and we have found[1] Amenemhat I compelled to build a 'wall' or fortress upon his north eastern frontier, for the purpose of 'keeping off the Sakti,' who had, previously to his reign, occupied the tract directly to the east of the Delta. Subsequently two other races are noticed as making their appearance in the same quarter. These are the Khuru or Khuthu, a maritime and commercial people, who seem to have made their way along the coast from Phœnicia, or perhaps from even further north, and the Shasu, a nation of nomads, whose main habitat was the tract directly south and south-east of the Dead Sea. The word Khuru, , is perhaps connected with the Hebrew 'Cherethite,' but the ethnographic application is wider, and the Khuru may be best regarded as the Syrians generally,[2] or the inhabitants of the maritime tract extending from the mouth of the Orontes to Lake Serbonis. The Shasu, , were most likely Arabs, and corresponded to the modern Bedouins of this region,[3] they are especially connected with Atuma or Edom,[4] and appear to have roamed over the whole of the desert region between Palestine on the one hand and Egypt upon the other,

[1] Supra, p. 144.

[2] See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 221, 1st ed., Birch in *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p. 46.

[3] See above, vol. i. p. 111.

[4] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 216–18, 1st ed.

which at this time was far more productive than at present, and could support a considerable population.

Between the Kharu and the Egyptians there had long been commercial dealings,[1] and thus Asiatic people had come to be well acquainted with the productiveness of Egypt and the accumulated wealth of the Egyptians, which was such as naturally to provoke the cupidity of their less fortunate neighbours. The Shasu, and the other Asiatic tribes, who were in close contact with the Kharu, and probably allied to them in blood, though differing in manner of life, would learn from these last what a variety of tempting treasures was stored up in the Egyptian palaces and temples, what countless flocks and herds cropped the rich pastures of the Delta and of the valley of the Nile, what delicate fare constituted the ordinary diet of the inhabitants, what magnificence of apparel and furniture was to be seen in their dwellings. Egypt had for centuries exercised a fascination upon the Asiatic mind, and, as we have seen,[2] had attracted to herself a continual flow of immigrants, who hoped, by adopting the Egyptian mode of life, to participate in the wealth and the luxury of the old inhabitants. The feeling which led individuals and households to quit their homes, renounce their countries, and throw in their lot with the sons of Mizraim, must have been shared in some degree by whole tribes and nations, who could not expect to be welcomed if they presented themselves *en masse* at the frontier towns, or to obtain a lodgment within Egyptian territory otherwise than by force of arms. Two such lodgments, as observed in the last chapter,[3] seem to have been effected while the tur-

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 221-2, 1st ed.

[2] Supra, pp. 180-1.

[3] Supra, p. 182.

teenth dynasty still occupied the Theban throne—at least this appears to us the most probable account that can be given of Manetho's first and second Shepherd dynasties—but the great invasion did not arrive till later. The great invasion, which resulted in a conquest of the entire country, is connected with a certain Suites, or Set, who belongs to a dynasty the last king of which was Apophis, a monarch whose reign almost immediately preceded that of Aahmes, the first king of the New Empire. It is impossible that two dynasties of shepherds can have followed after Apophis. We must therefore either place these dynasties in the troubled time which preceded the great invasion, or look upon them as wholly fictitious.

If some small nomadic tribes had succeeded in establishing themselves in independence within the limits of Egypt Proper, either in the Sethroite nome, or further to the south, in the vicinity of the Bitter Lakes or of Lake Timsah, a great encouragement would have been given to the other races of the neighbourhood, who had hitherto looked upon Egypt as invulnerable, and, however their cupidity may have urged them, had been prevented by their fears from venturing upon an attack. Desires long repressed would have had the rein given them, and would have blossomed into hope. A vague feeling of expectation would have been awakened among the tribes; a willingness to coalesce, a tendency towards union, would have shown itself, and, when any powerful tribe put itself forward and assumed the lead, there would naturally have been a wide-spread inclination to support the bold adventurer, and rally to a standard which was regarded as about to conduct to victory, plunder, and happiness. Something like a confederacy would have been readily

formed, and a force would thus have been gathered which no single nation of these parts could have raised, and with which the full power of Egypt might have found a difficulty in contending, if the circumstances had been such as to allow of her full power being put forth to meet the danger.

But, as we have already seen, this was not the case. Egypt had suffered disintegration. Two native dynasties were maintaining themselves in different parts of the territory, one at Thebes, the other in the Delta. One foreign kingdom, if not two, had been set up within her borders. These kingdoms were hostile to each other, and, it is probable, were continually at war. Moreover, at Thebes certainly, and most likely at Xois also,[1] the state of affairs was unsettled—tumult, disturbance, civil war, open murder, secret assassination prevailed. A prey to internal disorders, Egypt invited attack from without, seeming to offer herself as a ready prey to the first comer, if only he had at his command a military force of fair quality and tolerably numerous.

That an attack came, and a conquest was made, from the tract which joins Africa to Asia, is certain, but it is not easy to determine who were the real invaders. Manetho appears to have made two conflicting statements upon the subject: he represented the invaders as Phœnicians,[2] and he represented them as Arabs.[3] The Egyptians of the time of Herodotus

[1] Manetho says that at Xois there were seventy-six kings in a line of 484 or 484 years. Even if we take the longer of these numbers, it gives little more than six years as the average of the kings' reigns. And there is no such line of 484 than 484, which would reduce the average to two years and a half.

[2] "Hence the Shepherd Kings from Saites" (Man. ap. Syncell. *Chronographia*, p. 74 C).

[3] Manetho, ap. Joseph. *Contra Apion.* i. 14. It must be admitted that this statement is qualified by the name Hyksos. But it is the only suggestion of nationality reported by Josephus.

seem to have considered that they were Philistines.[1] Moderns have regarded them as Canaanites, Syrians, Hittites.[2] It is an avoidance, rather than a solution, of the difficulty, to say that they were 'a collection of all the nomad hordes of Arabia and Syria,'[3] since there must have been a directing hand; some one tribe must have taken the lead, and have furnished the commander. Some have thought that the word 'Hyksos,' which comes to us from Manetho, was the best clue to the puzzle, and, expounding that word as 'Shasu-kings,' have settled it that the conquerors were Arabs.[4] But Manetho himself seems to have understood by 'Hyksos, not 'Arab-kings,' but 'Shepherd kings,'[5] so that the term did not to him contain the idea of nationality. And the term itself is not found upon the monuments. Phœnicians, in the strict sense of the word, are scarcely to be thought of, since they were at no time 'shepherds,' and it is scarcely probable that they had as yet effected their migration from the Persian Gulf to the shores of the Mediterranean.[6] The invaders may well have been 'Syrians,' in a large sense of that word, and may have come from Palestine, or even from the region north of it. They may have belonged to the Canaanite portion of the Syrian popu-

[1] Herod. ii. 128. The 'shepherd Philitis,' to whom the Egyptians ascribed the pyramids which Herodotus visited there, must have been the individualization of a belief that Egypt had been ruled by Phœnician shepherds.

[2] See Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii. p. 421; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 245, 2nd ed.; Lenormant, *Manual of Ancient History*, vol. i. pp. 300-2.

[3] C'étaient un ramassis de toutes les hordes nomades de l'Arabie et de la Syrie.' (Lenormant, *Manual of Ancient History*, vol. i. p. 301.)

[4] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 76.

[5] Ap. Joseph. *Contr. Apion.* i. 14. 2 τὸ ΣΑΣ σημαίνει κατὰ τὴν ἱερὰν διάλεκτον. There is no evidence that Manetho knew anything of the Shasu, or in any way connected the Hyksos with them.

[6] See the author's 'Essay on the Early Migrations of the Phœnicians,' in his *Herodotus*, vol. iv. pp. 238-244, 3rd ed.

lation, and have been called 'Phœnicians' by Manetho from that confusion between the two words which naturally followed from the Phœnician power succeeding the Canaanite in the same tract of country.[1] Among the Canaanite nations the most powerful was that of the Khita or Hittites; and, on the whole, there seem to be better grounds for regarding the invaders of Egypt at this time as predominantly Hittite than for identifying them with any other special tribe or people. Set, the leader of the invasion, bore a name identical with that of the god chiefly worshipped by the Hittites,[2] and the exclusive worship of this god is noted in the Sallier papyrus as one of the principal results of the Shepherd rule.[3] The Hittites were a really powerful people, as appears by their after struggles, both with the Egyptians and the Assyrians, and would so be more capable of measuring their strength against that of the Egyptians, and for a time obtaining the upper hand, than any other of Egypt's neighbours. A Babylonian conquest is scarcely conceivable at this early date, and is precluded alike by the names of the Shepherd kings and the peculiarities of their worship.[4]

On the whole, therefore, we lean to the belief that the so-called Hyksos or 'Shepherds' were Hittites, who, pressed for room in Syria, or perhaps merely excited by a desire of conquest, moved southward, and, obtaining allies from the countries along their line of route, burst like an avalanche upon Egypt. The reduction of the country was, according to Manetho,

[1] See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 428–40.

[2] On the Hittite worship of Set or Sutech, see *Records of the Past*, vol. v. pp. 31–2.

[3] Ibid. vol. viii. p. 8.

[4] The names Set (Sutech), Hoor, Pachrain or Anarbras, Stann, Archles, Apepi have a strong Babylonian ab. Thum Set or Sutech has no representative in the Babylonian Pantheon.

effected with the greatest ease. 'Men of ignoble race,' he says, 'coming from the eastern regions unexpectedly, had the courage to invade Egypt, and conquered it easily without a battle.'[1] They took Memphis, built themselves a city in the Sethroite nome, and established a great fortified camp on the eastern frontier, which they called Auaris or Avaris, and occupied with a permanent garrison of 240,000 men.[2] It is not to be supposed that really no resistance was offered to the invaders by the Theban and Xoite kings of the time; but it was readily overcome; no great battle was fought; and in a comparatively short space of time the country was subjugated, and accepted the foreign yoke. Wherever the Hyksos penetrated, they spread ruin and desolation around, massacred the adult male population, reduced the women and children to slavery, burnt the cities, and demolished the temples.[3] But they do not appear to have cared permanently to occupy the Nile valley much beyond Memphis. After subjecting the whole of Egypt, they allowed the Theban kings to exercise a qualified sovereignty over the upper part of the Nilotic region, establishing their own court at Memphis, and from thence ruling Middle and Lower Egypt at their discretion.

The character of their rule was at the first barbaric and cruel. Professors of a religion which was monotheistic, or nearly so, the conquerors took an extreme aversion to the Egyptian polytheism, and vented their hatred by an inveterate destruction of all the

[1] Παρὰ ἔθος ἐλθόντων ἀπὸ δυνατῶν μερῶν, ἀδήλως τὸ γένος ἔσχον, ἀπροσδοκήτως καὶ τῇ χώρᾳ ἐπιστράτευσαν, καὶ ῥᾳδίως ἅμαχητὶ τοῦτο κατεκράτησαν αὐτῇ. (Manetho ap. Joseph. *Contr. Apion.* i. 14.)

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ἔπειτα τοὺς ἐντοπίους ἐχθρίως τοῖς ἐχρήσαντο, τοὺς μὲν σφάζοντες καὶ τῶν ἐκγόνων καὶ τῶν γυναικῶν τὴν ἀνδραποδισμὸν ποιούμενοι· τὰς πόλεις ἐμπιπρᾶσι, καὶ τοὺς τῶν θεῶν καθυβρίσαντες. (Ib.)

Egyptian temples, which, according to Manetho, they absolutely 'razed to the ground.'[1] Considering how closely connected were the priests with the historical literature of Egypt, which had from the first been chiefly in their hands, we must conclude that this general demolition of edifices was accompanied by an almost complete destruction of the records of the country, which, except in the inscriptions of unopened tombs, and in papyruses buried in tombs, suffered at the hands of the Hyksos something like obliteration.[2] Thebes, it may be, retained its monuments; but these dated only from the time of the eleventa dynasty.[3] Elsewhere the flood of conquest engulfed the early literature of the country; the old civilisation was, as it were, 'annihilated,'[4] and a blank was produced which the clever *litterateurs* of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties found it impossible, excepting by the free employment of conjecture and invention, to fill.

But this purely destructive time was followed by one of reaction, and to some extent of reconstruction. The 'Tartars of the South,' after a certain term of years, during which they devastated Egypt from the Mediterranean to Thebes, or perhaps to Elephantine, suffered themselves by degrees to be subjected by the superior civilisation of those whom they had conquered,[5]

[1] See the preceding note, and especially the hieratic word *ater-ouaour*.

[2] Lenormant says: 'Dès ce moment [the Hyksos conquest] une [Egypte] est à entier détruite, les monuments impossible. Le sol fut [illegible] de chaque contrée entière, excepté [illegible] et [illegible] pour [illegible] les Hyksos. Quelque splendeur de l'Egypte.' (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 200.)

[3] See above, p. 127.

[4] Lenormant, p. 203. 'La civilisation égyptienne [illegible] entièrement anéantie par l'invasion, &c.

[5] Thus p. 197. 'Les Pasteurs dans la Basse-Égypte, comme les Tartares en Chine, se laissèrent conquérir par la civilisation supérieure de leurs vaincus.

and adopted their art, their official language, their titles, and the general arrangement of their court ceremonial. In Tanis especially temples were built and sculptures set up under the Shepherd kings differing little in their general character from those of the purely Egyptian period.[1] The foreign kings erected their own effigies at this site, which were sculptured by native artists according to the customary rules of Egyptian sculptural art, and only differ from those of the earlier native monarchs in the head-dress, the expression of the countenance, and a peculiar arrangement of the beard.[2] They built stone temples on the Egyptian model at Tanis and Avaris, wherein they worshipped Set Nubti, or 'Set the Golden,' in the place of Ammon or Phtah, bringing the materials for their constructions from Assouan or Syene,[3] and only slightly modifying established Egyptian forms, as by adding wings to the Sphinx. They lived on amicable terms with the contemporary Theban dynasty of subordinate kings, allowed their worship of Ammon-Ra,[4] and held intercourse with them by frequent embassies.

There are even certain respects in which the Shepherd monarchs appear to have been in advance of the people whom they conquered, so that 'the Egyptians were indebted to the stay of the foreigners' in their country, 'and to their social intercourse with them, for much useful knowledge'.[5] The Shepherds had the conception of an era, and introduced into Egypt the practice of dating events from a certain fixed point, apparently the first regnal year of the first king, Set or

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 230-7, 1st ed.

[2] See Lepsius, *Denkmäler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien*, Abth. vi. Blatt 1, and Abth. ii. Blatt 1; and *Denkmäler des Sinai-Halbinsel*, p. 11, and plate.

[3] This appears from the remains, which are of Syenite granite (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 237, 1st ed.).

[4] *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p. 1.

[5] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 237, 1st ed.

Sothis,[1] a practice which, had it been generally adopted, would have cleared Egyptian chronology from that uncertainty and confusion which are now its acknowledged characteristics. They 'enlarged the horizon of the Egyptian artistic views'[2] by the introduction of new forms and of greater realism into glyptic art; and they are even thought to have affected for good the language and literature of the country.[3] The language was to a considerable extent Semitized, and an impulse was given to literature which resulted in a vastly increased activity and prolificness. Again, the Shepherds seem to have possessed a power of governmental organisation not uncommonly displayed by barbaric conquerors, as by the Mongols in India and the Turks in Europe. They established throughout the territory a uniform system for military and revenue purposes, and did much to crush out that spirit of isolation and provincialism which had hitherto been the bane of Egypt,[4] and had prevented its coalescing firmly into a settled homogeneous monarchy. The monarchs of the eighteenth dynasty inherited from them a united and centralised Egypt, accustomed to be directed by a single head from a single fixed centre.[5] Thus the blow by which the power of Egypt had seemed to be shattered and prostrated worked ultimately for its advancement, and the Hykshos domination may be said to have produced the glories of the Later Empire.

[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 90; Brugsch, *Egypt's Place*, vol. v. p. 74; Lepsius (Compare Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 70 and 120.)

[2] Brugsch, l. s. c.

[3] Stuart Poole in the *Contemporary Review* for February 1870, pp. 580 1.

[4] See above, p. 102.

[5] The only exception to this was the Theban kingdom which retained a shadow, though subject, authority under the Hykshos; but this was the exact power which expelled the Shepherds, all authority became at once fixed in a single centre.

Of the individual monarchs belonging to the Hykshos line we know but little. According to Manetho, Set or Suites was not the original leader of the invasion, but a monarch whom the successful invaders placed at their head after they had overrun and conquered the entire territory.[1] He established himself at Memphis, placed garrisons in every city of importance, and fixed the tributes to be paid to him both by the Upper and the Lower country. The bulk of his troops he stationed in a city, or rather perhaps in a great fortified camp, on the eastern frontier, at Avaris, an old Egyptian town, which he rebuilt and strongly fortified. They amounted to nearly a quarter of a million of men, and were placed in this position for the purpose of repelling any attack which might be made upon the Hykshos kingdom by the Assyrians (?).[2] Set visited them every summer, with the object of renewing their supplies of grain, discharging their arrears of pay, and practising them in military exercises and manœuvres, calculated to inspire a wholesome fear among the neighbouring peoples. Set took the additional title of *Aapehti*, "great and glorious," and seems also to have called himself Nubt,[3] thus identifying himself with certain deities, as had been the practice of the previous Egyptian monarchs, who had called themselves Horus, Khem, or Kneph,[4] and had been called by their wives Horus and Set.[5]

[1] A. Joseph. *Contr. Apion.* i. 14.

[2] See the Manetho of Josephus. It is certain that Assyria proper was not at this time a country to arrive expel from its soil. (See Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. i. pp. 440-7, 3rd edit.)

[3] Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. v. pp. 74-5; *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 26.

[4] See above, pp. 41, 86, 91, and 85.

[5] De Rouge, *Recherches*, p. 45.

Set reigned, we are told, for thirteen years,[1] and was succeeded by a monarch whose name is given in the different manuscripts under the three forms of Anon, Bnon, and Beon. Bnon is the form generally preferred by scholars,[2] and, if accepted, may be compared with the Hebrew Benoni;[3] but the monuments have not hitherto revealed the native form of the word, and, until or unless they do, speculation upon the subject is idle. Bnon is said to have reigned either forty or forty-four years,[4] and to have been succeeded by Pachnan, or Apachnas—a king of whom we are told absolutely nothing beyond the length of his reign, which is variously reported as sixty-one years and as thirty-six years and seven months.[5]

Josephus declares that Manetho placed Apophis or Apepi [illegible] immediately after Apachnas: but Africanus and the Armenian Eusebius are agreed that Apophis was in the Manethonian list the last king of the dynasty; and as this arrangement accords with the monumental mention of Apepi hereafter to be noticed,[6] it would seem best to follow Africanus, rather than Josephus, at this point. Africanus reported Manetho

[1] Joseph. Ap., Manetho ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 69 B.

[2] Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. i. p. 425; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 239 note; Lenormant, however, prefers the reading Annon (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 393).

[3] Gen. xxxv. 18.

[4] Forty years according to Eusebius ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 69 A; forty-four, according to Josephus (Ap. i.) and Africanus ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 69 B.

[5] The latter number, which is given by Josephus (Ap. i.), seems preferable from its exactness; but it is perhaps a mistake of the scribe, who took the period of seven months.

[6] See below, p. 199. The name of Khyan, the most extensively known of the monarchs under Apophis, has been found at Boghaz-Keui. It was cited by Arkwright, the first king of the eighteenth dynasty in his sixth year. Unless I am mistaken, we must place the war to have been carried through several reigns, we must place Apophis and his successor, who is not the messenger sent immediately before Ankhmes.

as placing between Apachnas and Apophis two kings, Staan and Archles, the former of whom reigned fifty, and the latter forty-nine years.[1] Josephus calls these kings Janias and Assis, and places them after Apophis. Consequently, both their names and their position are to some extent doubtful; though, on the whole, the representations of Africanus, who had no purpose to serve, must be regarded as more worthy of credit than those of the Jewish historian.

It results from Manetho's numbers, as reported by Africanus, that the dynasty occupied the Egyptian throne for 284 years,[2] which gives the extraordinary average of forty-seven years to a reign, or, omitting the first king, the still more extraordinary one of fifty-three years! If we regard the numbers as in any sense historical, it seems necessary to suppose that each king, soon after he came to the throne, associated a successor, and that the reigns are counted in each case from the date of the association.[3] Supposing this to have been the case, the real average of the *sole* reigns need not have been more than about twenty-seven years; nor need the real duration of the entire dynasty have much exceeded a hundred and sixty years.[4]

Apepi, the last monarch of the line, having (it is probable) reigned in conjunction with Archles for some thirty or thirty-two years, became sole king at a

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[1] Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. p. 65 b.

[2] Africanus himself gave this as the total length of the dynasty (ibid.).

[3] As are the relations of the kings belonging to the twelfth dynasty in the Turin papyrus. (Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 119, 1st ed.)

[4] If each king associated a successor after reigning two years, the length of the sole reigns would be as follows:—

	Years
Saïtes (Pachnas)	13
[illegible]	27
Ianias	23
Staan	17
Archles	29
Apepi (Apophis)	29
Total	161

The entire duration would thus be 161 years.

mature age. Unlike Set, who had made Memphis his capital and only visited Avaris occasionally,[1] Apepi held his court permanently at the last-named city,[2] and there received the homage and tribute which were offered to him by all the various districts both of the Upper and the Lower country. In Upper Egypt was established, with his consent and concurrence, a dynasty of native princes, who affected the family name of Tau, and the throne name of Ra Sekenen, . Two princes thus designated, Ra Sekenen I and Ra Sekenen II, had already reigned at Thebes and been buried there in tombs which modern exploration has discovered somewhat recently.[3] A third Ra-Sekenen had succeeded, whether immediately or after an interval is uncertain, and now occupied the position of tributary dynast at the southern capital.[4] Apepi seems, for some cause or other, to have taken a dislike to his princely vassal, and to have resolved to pick a quarrel with him by preferring unreasonable demands. First of all he sent an embassy from his own court to that of the southern king, requiring him to relinquish the worship of all the Egyptian gods, excepting Amen-Ra, whom he probably identified with his own sole divinity, Set, or Suteḫ.[5] This proposition was declined, as one with which it was impossible to comply; but the refusal was couched in such terms that umbrage could

[1] See above, p. 191.

[2] *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p. 7.

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 345–7 (1st ed.).

[4] M. Chabas has argued that the Ra-Sekenen of the papyrus with Apepi and now found in the Sallier papyrus, was the *first* of the name (see *Contemporary Review* for February 1870, p. 370); but I agree with Dr. Brugsch that it is better to regard him as Ra-Sekenen III.

[5] That Suteḫ represented the sun in the Hittite system appears from the terms of the treaty of peace concluded by the Hittites with Rameses II. (See *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 38, § 5.)

scarcely be taken at it. Hereupon Apepi consulted with the most experienced of his advisers, and with their help concocted a second message, the exact purport of which is not quite clear. According to one translator,[1] it had reference to a 'well for cattle;' according to another,[2] it was a demand for the stoppage of a canal. The messenger who carried the missive had orders to journey at his utmost speed, and boasts that he did not rest by day or by night till he had delivered it. Whatever the exact requirement was, it threw Ra-Sekenen into a state of extreme perplexity. He communicated the proposal to the principal men of his court—'his mighty chiefs, his captains, and expert guides'—but they had no advice to offer. 'They were all silent at once in great dismay, and knew not how to answer him good or ill.'[3] Then Apepi sent, it would seem, a third message, but of the purport of this nothing can be said; for the manuscript containing the narrative here most provokingly breaks off in the middle of a sentence, and we are left to conjecture the sequel.

The sequel seems to have been war. Ra-Sekenen was not prepared to submit to whatever demands might be made upon him, and, when he proved intractable, compulsion was resorted to. The title of 'Ken,' which he assumed, signifies 'victorious,'[4] and is thought to indicate that he maintained the struggle which Apepi had forced upon him with tolerable success. The warlike energy which had characterised the invaders

[1] Lauth, in *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p. 4, § 6. Chabas takes the same view (*Les Pasteurs en Egypte*, p. 15).

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 241, 1st edit.

[3] *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p. 4, §§ 2–4.

[4] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 245, 1st edit. See his *Dictionary of Hieroglyphics*, in Bunsen's *Egypt*, vol. v. p. 444.

at the time when they made their original inroad, a century and a half or two centuries earlier, had decreased. Egypt had proved their Capua, and, now that a serious conflict had arisen between them and their subjects, it was found that they were no longer the terrible foe that common fame had represented them. It must have been during the reigns of Ra Sekenen III. and his successor, Kames, whose rule was exceedingly brief,[1] that the grasp of the Shepherds upon Egypt was shaken off, and they were forced to quit their hold and withdraw towards the east, concentrating themselves in that fortified camp on the borders of the Syrian desert, which the providence of their first king, Saites, had created for them. Driven out of Egypt Proper by a general uprising of the native inhabitants, at Avaris they turned to bay. They still numbered 240,000 men.[2] The Egyptians besieged them in Avaris with an army twice as numerous as theirs,[3] and after a time their efforts were crowned with success. Avaris was assaulted both by land and water. Ships of war were launched upon the canals which conveyed the Nile water to its immediate neighbourhood,[4] and all its gates were blockaded and watched. After numerous assaults the place fell. The captain Ahmes, who was present at the capture, tells us the part that he took in the siege—how he 'followed the king on foot when he (the king) went out on his chariot'—how, when siege was laid to the city, he 'had to fight in the presence of his Majesty'—how at one time he 'fought upon the canal of Patetku of Avaris, and carried off a hand'—

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 247, 263, 1st edit.

[2] So Josephus, who professes to follow Manetho (*Contra Apion.* i. 14). But the number is suspicious for many reasons.

[3] Ibid.

[4] *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. p. 7.

he killed an enemy, and cut off his hand and carried it to camp as proof of his exploit—how a second time he did the same—how, in a third engagement, he made a prisoner, and 'brought him off through the water'—and how finally, at the actual taking of the town, he made prisoners of one man and three women, who were all given to him for slaves.[1] The narrator is so occupied with himself and his own adventures that he has no words to spare for any general account of the siege operations, or any connected narrative of the war. We gather incidentally from his autobiographical sketch that there was no capitulation, such as Manetho spoke of[2]—no voluntary evacuation of the city by the Hykshos army—but that the place was taken by storm; and we can perceive that the beaten enemy drew off in the direction of Palestine, whither the Egyptians pursued them, and where after a time they captured a Hykshos city called Sharhana,[3] probably the Sharuhen of the Hebrews.[4] With this event the Hykshos war appears to have terminated, and Egypt, relieved for ever from this hated enemy, entered upon a career of progress, conquest, and glory.

It is stated by George the Syncellus, a writer whose extensive learning and entire honesty are unquestionable, that the synchronism of Joseph with Apepi, the last king of the only known Hykshos dynasty, was 'acknowledged by all.'[5] The best modern authorities accept this view, if not as clearly established, at any

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[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. pp. 7, 8.

[2] Ap. Joseph. *Contr. Apion.* I. c.

[3] *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. p. 8, § 5.

[4] Josh. xix. 6.

[5] *Chronographia*, vol. i. p. 62, a. Τὸν παρὰ πᾶσιν ὁμολογούμενον ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἀπαπήους ἄρξαι τοῦτον τὸν Ἰωσήφ. Between inaccurate Christian chronographers (*Egypt's Place*, vol. ii. p. 130), but quite arbitrarily

rule as in the highest degree probable,[1] and believe that it was Apepi who made the gifted Hebrew his prime minister, who invited his father and his brethren to settle in Egypt with their households, and assigned to them the land of Goshen for their residence. The elevation of a foreigner, and a Semite, to so exalted an office is thought to be far more likely under Hyksos than under native Egyptian rule, the marriage with the daughter of the high priest of Heliopolis to be less surprising, and the Egyptian words and names connected with the history to point to this period.[2] If the view be allowed, a great additional interest will attach to Apepi himself, and great additional light will be thrown on the ultimate character of the Hyksos rule, which has been shown already to have been much modified and softened by contact with the old civilisation of the country.[3]

For the Pharaoh of Joseph is no rude and savage monarch, but a mild, civilised, and somewhat luxurious king. He holds a grand court in a city not named, has a number of cupbearers and confectioners,[4] sits upon a throne[5] or rides in a chariot,[6] wears a ring on his hand, has vestures of fine linen and collars of gold to bestow on those whom he favours,[7] uses the Egyptian language, and is in fact undistinguishable from a native Egyptian monarch. He does not oppress any of his subjects. On the contrary, he sustains them in a time of scarcity, when he becomes their landlord, takes

[1] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 70; Lenormant, *Manuel of Hist.* ancient, vol. i. p. 261; Duncker, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 200-70, 1st ed.

[2] Brugsch, p. 205.

[3] See above, p. 134.

[4] Gen. xl. 2.

[5] Ib. xli. 40.

[6] Ib. xli. 43. This fact, and Joseph's "chariots and horsemen" (Gen. l. 9), alike serve to prove that Joseph was not anterior to the Hyksos.

[7] Ib. xli. 42.

a moderate rent,[1] is especially lenient to the priests,[2] and, when he receives the Israelites, even concedes to his subjects prejudice against '*shepherds*'.[3] If he is by no means descended from the Hyksos, he has adopted all the ordinary habits and mode of life of the Egyptians, he is even, it would seem, tolerant of their religion. His toleration may perhaps be only within certain limits, but it extends apparently to the entire priestly order.

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[1] Gen. xlvii. 26. [2] Ib. xlvii. 22. [3] Ib. xlvi. 34.

CHAPTER XX

THE NEW EMPIRE. EGYPT UNDER THE EIGHTEENTH DYNASTY (ABOUT B.C. 1600–1400)

Reign of Aahmes. His War with the Hyksos.—His Expedition against the South. His Buildings. His Wife Nefert-ari-Aahmes. Reign of Amenhotep I. Reign of Thothmes I. His Nubian Conquests.—His Syrian and Mesopotamian War. His Monuments. Short Reign of Thothmes II. Accession of Hatasu. Her Buildings and other Monuments. Her Fleet sails to Punt. Her Association of Thothmes III. and Death. Glorious Reign of Thothmes III. His Invasion of Asia. Enemies with whom he came into contact. The Kharu, the Zahi, the Khita, the Ruten, the Sakari. Reduction of Syria. Success in Mesopotamia.—Elephant Hunts. Booty carried off. Inscriptions set up by Thothmes III. His Buildings, Statues and Obelisks. His Employment of Forced Labour. Condition of the Inscriptions under him. His Southern Wars. His supposed Maritime Empire. Summary of his Character. Reign of Amenhotep II. His Wars and Buildings. Reign of Thothmes IV. His Temple to the Sphinx. His Wives. His Lion Hunts. Reign of Amenhotep III. His Wife Tiye. Commencement of the Ius Worship. His Wives. His Buildings and Statues. His Love of Field Sports. Person and Appearance and Character. Reign of Amenhotep IV., or Khuenaten. His strange Physiognomy. His Establishment of the Ius Worship. His new Capital. His Wives. Reigns of Sa'a-nekht Ankh-ka-ra and Tutankh-amun. Restoration of the Old Religion. Reign of Har-em-hab. Close of the Dynasty.

"He spareth till he gain." MACKAY, *Epic of Iona*.

THE native Egyptian monarch who drove out the Hyksos, and became the founder of the eighteenth dynasty, bore the name of Aahmes, , which signifies "child of the moon."[1] He is thought to have been the son of Kames (Ta'a kha-en-ra) and of his wife Aah-hotep, , whose coffin and mummy are

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 273, 1st ed.

among the treasures of the museum of Boulaq[1] Aahmes took the throne name of Nebpehtira, 𓇋𓂝𓏏𓀀, and reigned twenty-five years more gloriously than any Egyptian monarch since Usertasen III. He probably merited the great war, which he brought to a happy conclusion mainly by his own personal energy, but in part by the courage and conduct of his generals.[2] It is especially to be noted, of his war, that it was carried on as much by water as by land, the first step towards success being the creation of a flotilla upon the Nile, which held the command of the river, and was used in the rapid and safe transport of troops to any part of the Nile valley where they were needed.[3] Aahmes, the king's namesake and favourite general, relates how he served on board one of these Nile vessels, and, descending the stream from Thebes, carried his master's arms into the Eastern Delta, and in a short time won back to his authority the entire region. As the vessels descended the river, the land force, now no more a mere infantry, but comprising certainly a body of trained chariots, and perhaps a certain amount of cavalry,[4] occupied the river bank; and Aahmes from time to time had to quit his vessel and to march on foot beside the chariot of his sovereign. Memphis must have been captured[5] before any attack

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 252 (1st ed., Leipsic, 1868). *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 189.

[2] See especially the inscription on the tomb of his officer, Aahmes, son of Abana (*Records of the Past*, vol. vi. pp. 7–9).

[3] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 78.

[4] That the Hyksos kings introduced the horse and chariot into Egypt is generally admitted. No wheeled vehicles appear in the monuments of the Old Empire, the nearest approach to them being the sledges of the tomb of Ti. The employment of horses is in the war of Thothmes III. first mentioned in the *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. p. 7. The use of cavalry at this time is uncertain.

[5] This capture may have been the work of Ra-Sekenen III. There is no allusion to it in the inscription of Aahmes.

could have been made upon the city of the Shepherds—the strong and vast fortress of Avaris, situated at the furthest point to which the Nile waters reached, well fortified both by walls and moats, and defended by a garrison of nearly a quarter of a million of men.[1] A lake protected the city on one side, canals from the Nile guarded it in other quarters, while a solid rampart of baked, or perhaps merely of sun-dried brick, surrounded the whole, and rendered the position one of first-rate strength and security. However, after a siege of some considerable length, in the course of which there were several engagements,[2] the final assault appears to have been delivered with such success, that a panic seized the garrison, and they hastily fled from the place. The majority made their escape, and withdrew to Syria, but many were slain, and a considerable number taken prisoners. As captives appear to have been regarded as the property of the king, but it was a common practice to assign prisoners to those who captured them, and vast numbers of the 'Shepherd' race became in this way permanently fixed in Egypt, where they intermixed with the native inhabitants and modified to some extent their physical type.[3]

The war of Aahmes with the Shepherds lasted five years.[4] It was no sooner concluded than he hastened to lead an expedition against the south, where the negro races had taken the offensive during the struggle between the Egyptians and their foreign conquerors, and apparently had re-established the independence

[1] Supra, p. 201.
[2] *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. pp. 7, 8.
[3] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 80.
Lenormant, *Manual of History*, Ancient, vol. i. p. 365.
[4] *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. p. 8.

whereof they had been deprived by the monarchs of the twelfth dynasty.[1] At first the Egyptian king carried all before him, and, regarding the country as reconquered, returned down the Nile to his capital; but ere long the tide of victory turned. A Nubian chief, called Teta-an, collected the dusky hordes under his banner, and retook the whole region of the south, carrying devastation along the Nile banks, destroying the temples of the Egyptian garrisons, and annihilating the Egyptian power. Aahmes was forced to retrace his steps, and measure his strength against this new enemy. He engaged Teta-an twice, the Nubian being apparently each time the assailant. On the first occasion neither antagonist could claim a decisive success, but, on the second, Aahmes was more fortunate. The negro army was defeated with great loss, Teta-an made prisoner, and Egyptian authority once more established over the tract between the First and the Second Cataract.[2]

It would appear that the struggle with Teta-an must have occupied a considerable time. At any rate, it was not until his twenty-second year that the Egyptian monarch, victorious on every side, and no longer apprehensive of attack, was able to turn his attention to domestic affairs, and commence the restoration of those public edifices which had suffered either from natural decay or from hostile attack during the last two or three centuries. Rock tablets in the quarries of Tourah and Maasara of that year[3] record the fact that Aahmes at this time 'opened anew the rock

[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. pp. 5–9.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 278, 1st ed. M. Chabas considers Teta-an to be the name of a people rather than that of a chief-tain. *Les Pasteurs en Egypte*, p. 49.

[3] See *Inscriptions*, vol. v. pl. 3 *a* and *c*; also Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 98, and Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 276–7, 1st ed.

chambers,' and employed men to 'cut out the best white stone of the hill country for the repairs of the 'temple of millions of years'—the ancient edifice dedicated to the god Phthah at Memphis—for that of Ammon at Thebes, and for other sacred buildings. Phœnicians are thought to have been employed upon the great works thus initiated,[1] as they were some centuries later on the construction of the Temple of Solomon.[2]

Aahmes is said to have reigned altogether twenty-five years,[3] or, as Josephus expresses it more exactly, twenty-five years and four months.[4] He married a princess,[5] who took the name of Nefert-ari-Aahmes, , or 'the beautiful companion of Aahmes,'[6] and who is represented on the monuments with pleasing features, but a complexion of ebon blackness.[7] It is certainly wrong to call her a 'negress,' she was an Ethiopian of the best physical type; and her marriage with Aahmes may have been based upon a political motive.[8] The Egyptian Pharaohs from time to time allied themselves with the monarchs of the south, partly to obtain the aid of Ethiopian troops in their wars, partly with a view of claiming, in right of their wives, dominion over the Upper Nile region. Aahmes may have been the first to do this, or he may simply

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. [illegible] (ed. 1879).

[2] 1 Kings v. 18, vii. 13-45, 2 Chron. ii. 7, &c.

[3] Manetho apud Syncell. (Dindorf's ed.) p. [illegible]; and Eusebius, *Chronicon*, p. [illegible].

[4] Josephus, *Contra Apion.* i. 14. Josephus gives the same wrong name to Thothmes I. but rightly assigns Amenôthes (Aahmes) the first place in the eighteenth dynasty.

[5] She is called 'the daughter, sister, wife, and mother of a king' (Lacau).

[6] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. [illegible] et seq.

[7] Ibid. p. [illegible].

[8] See the *Dictionnaire*, vol. i. p. [illegible]. Brugsch thinks that Aahmes was always peaceably inclined, but Wilkinson (*Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, p. 361, Birch's ed.), Lenormant (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, p. 581), and Canon Tozer (*Ancient Egypt*, p. [illegible]) agree in regarding Nefert-ari-Aahmes as a Black.

[9] So Birch (Lacau), and Tozer (Lacau).

have 'followed the example of his predecessors, who, bowed by the Hyksos to the south, had contracted marriages with the females of European rulers.'[1] His queen was certainly regarded as a personage of no

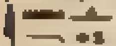
Head of Nefertari-Aahmes.

portance. She was called 'the wife of the god Amun,'[2] and enjoyed some high post connected with the worship

[1] Birch, *l.c.*

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 240. Wilkinson renders the expression used of Queen Aahmes 'wife of Amun-ra' (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 365, 2nd ed.).

of that god at Thebes, Aahmes commemorated her upon his monuments;[1] during her son's reign she held, for a time at any rate, the reins of power; while in after ages she was venerated as 'ancestress and foundress of the eighteenth dynasty.'[2]

The successor of Aahmes was his son by this Ethiopian princess. He bore the name of Amen-hotep,  , which is the Amenophthis of Manetho.[3] On his accession he took the throne name of Ser-ka-ra, but he is more commonly known as Amen-hotep the First. Either he was of immature age at the death of his father, and therefore placed at first under the guardianship of his mother,[4] or else his attachment to her was such that he voluntarily associated her with himself in the government. Her figure appears on his monuments, drawn with the utmost care and elaboration;[5] she is joined with him in the worship of the gods;[6] she is 'the lady of the two lands,' as he is the 'lord' of them. Little is known of the reign of Amenôphis beyond the fact that, like his father, he led expeditions to the south, and warred both with the Cushites and the negroes, seeking still farther to extend the frontier of Egypt in a southern direction.[7] It does not appear, however, that much success attended his efforts beyond the capture of some prisoners and some cattle. Amen-hotep was served by two officers, Aahmes, son of Abana, and another Aahmes named

[1] *Denkmäler*, vol. v. pt. iii. pl. 4.

[2] Brugsch, l. s. c.

[3] Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* vol. i. pp. 73 & 75.

[4] This is the view generally taken. (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 289, 2d ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 81.) But there is no appearance of extreme youth in the representations of Amenhotep.

[5] *Denkmäler*, vol. v. pt. iii. pl. 1.

[6] Ibid. l. s. c.

[7] *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. p. 7. [illegible] Amenhotep also [illegible] the great temple at Karnak.

Pennishem, whose tombs have been found at Thebes.[1] He took to wife an Egyptian lady, named Aah-hotep, [illegible], and had a son by her whom he called Thotames,

Bust of Amenophis I.

[illegible], the first prince of that celebrated name.[2] According to Manetho,[3] Amenophis I reigned no more than thirteen years.

The reign of Thothmes I., who succeeded Amenophis, and took the further appellation of Aakheperkara, [illegible], derives its chief distinction from the fact that, at this period of our history, the Egyptians for the first time carried their arms deep into Asia, overrunning Syria, and even invading Mesopotamia, or the tract between the Tigris and the Euphrates. If the tablet of Tombos point to any this direction had been Nubia or Southern Palestine, which was assigned to the tribe of Simeon by Joshua. Leaders from the lower Mesopotamian region[4] had from time to time traced their route across the broad Syrian valleys and plains, and struck the waters of the Orontes and the Jordan,

[1] See the *Denkmäler*, vol. v. pl. [illegible], pp. 2–6.

[2] This name means 'Child of Thoth,' and is nearly equivalent to Arabic Ibn-Thoth, 'Son of Thoth,' which was a Moon-god (see vol. i. pp. 70, 71).

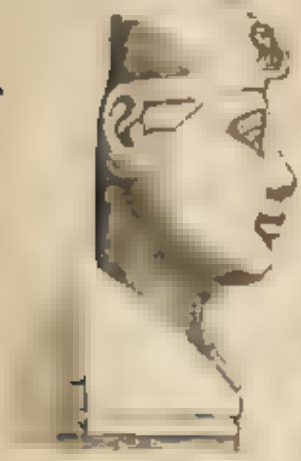
[3] As quoted by Eusebius, *Chronography*, vol. i. p. 77. Scaliger speculates, as to this [illegible] who is given to the gods as long. But Thothmes, as the second [illegible] of the eighteenth dynasty, must represent Amenophis.

[4] Egyptian relations with Western Asia [illegible] are made out in the fourteenth chapter of Genesis, and Kedorlaomer, king of Elam, is the name of *Kudur-Mabuk*, or Servant of the Moon-god (about B.C. 1900). See the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. pp. 447, 448, 3rd ed.

ravaged the open country, and even perhaps destroyed the towns. But Syria was hitherto almost an undiscovered region to the powerful people which, during its strength in the Nile valley, had remained content with its own natural limits and scarcely grasped at any conquests. A time was now come when this comparative quietude and absence of ambition were about to cease. Provoked by the attack made upon her from the side of Asia, and smarting from the wounds inflicted upon her pride and her prosperity by the Hyksos during the period of their rule, Egypt now set herself to retaliate, and for three centuries continued at intervals to pour her armies into the Eastern continent, and to carry fire and sword over the extensive and populous regions which lay between the Mediterranean and the Zagros mountain range. There is some uncertainty as to the extent of her conquests: but no reasonable doubt can be entertained that for a space of three hundred years Egypt was the most powerful and the most aggressive state that the world contained, and held a dominion that has as much right to be called an 'Empire' as the Assyrian, the Babylonian, or the Persian. While Babylonia, ruled by Arab conquerors,[1] declined in strength, and Assyria proper was merely struggling into independence, Egypt put forth her arm, and grasped the fairest regions of the earth's surface. Thus commenced that struggle for preponderance between north-eastern Africa and south-western Asia, which lasted for above a thousand years, and was scarcely terminated until Rome appeared upon the scene, and reduced both the rivals under her world-wide sway.

[1] Ibid. pp. 448-9.

The period of aggression upon Asia commenced with Thothmes I., but his Asiatic expedition was not his first enterprise. He began his military career by an invasion of the countries upon the Upper Nile, and contended in this region with the Ethiopians and Nubians, ascending the course of the river with a flotilla of ships, while his troops also, it is probable, marched along the banks, and not only directed the movements of his forces, but taking a personal part in the encounters. On one occasion, we are told, 'his majesty became more furious than a panther,' and 'drawing an arrow to the string directed it against the Nubian chief with so sure an aim, that it struck his royal ruminant fixed to his knee, whereupon the chief fell fainting down before the royal chariot.'[2] He was at once seized and made a prisoner; his effeminate wives were dispersed, and he himself was carried off on board the royal ship to the Egyptian capital. This victory was the precursor of others everywhere. 'The Nu of Nubia were hewed in pieces, and scattered all over their lands, and their stench filled the valleys.'[3] At last a general submission was made, and a large tract of territory was ceded. The Egyptian frontier was pushed on from



Head of Thothmes I.

[1] See *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 10, and vol. x. p. [illegible]. Brugsch [illegible].

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, 1st ed. p. 250. See also, for the whole, *Records of the*

Semneh (lat. 21° 50′, to Tombos (lat. 19°); and a memorial was set up at this latter place,[1] to mark the existing extent of the empire southward. A new officer was appointed to govern the newly annexed country, who was called 'the ruler of Kush,' and appears to have resided at Semneh.[2]

The expedition against the South was followed, after no long interval, by an invasion of Asia. 'To exact satisfaction from the races which had attacked Egypt, and for many years oppressed her, Thothmes marched an army through Palestine and Syria into Mesopotamia, engaged the natives of those regions in a long series of battles, and defeated them more than once with great slaughter. A single captain boasts that in the course of the expedition he 'took twenty-one hands,'[3] or, in other words, killed twenty-one men, besides capturing a horse and a chariot. If one man could do so much, what must have been the amount of injury inflicted by the entire host!' Egyptian armies, according to Manetho,[4] were counted by hundreds of thousands; and even if for 'hundreds' we substitute 'tens,' the result must have been a carnage and a desolation sufficiently distressing. The use of the horse in war, which they had learned from their late conquerors,[5] added greatly to their military efficiency and to their

[1] A representation of the memorial is given in the *Dendérah* vol. v. pl. 43, p. 5, and a translation of the inscription upon it will be found in Brugsch's *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 258 (2nd ed.).

[2] See Brugsch *History of Egypt* vol. i. p. 261, note.

See *Records of the Past* vol. v. p. 7, par. 3.

[4] Ap. Joseph. *Contr. Apion.* i. 14, 26.

[5] That the Hyksos introduced the horse into Egypt though not stated by M. Chabas (*Études sur l'Antiquité Historique*, p. 415, note) is generally admitted. The employment of horses in war by the Egyptians may not very much before the reign of Amenophis, appears from the inscription of Aahmes son of Abana (*Records of the Past*, new ser. vol. viii. p. 7, par. 6).

power of making distant campaigns. Though unskilful riders, and therefore averse to the employment of cavalry on any extensive scale,[1] they rapidly organised a strong force of chariots, which engaged with success the similar organisations of the Eastern nations, and manifested a decided superiority over them. We must suppose that the Egyptian mechanical skill carried to perfection in a short time the art of chariot-making, and that they combined lightness with strength in their vehicles to a remarkable degree. The climate of Egypt seems also to have suited the horse in these early days; and so judicious were the Egyptian breeders that the natives of Judæa and Syria may, even the redoubted Hittites themselves, imported their horses and chariots from the valley of the Nile, and paid a price for them which implies high excellence.[2] It is creditable to the spirit and adaptability of the Egyptian people, that they should so immediately have surpassed their teachers, and have been able *at once* to carry to perfection a mode of warfare which was wholly new to them, while it had long been familiar to their antagonists.

When the king returned triumphant from his Asiatic campaign,[3] with abundant booty and captives, he set up a tablet commemorative of his exploits,[4] and, to show his gratitude to the divine power which had protected him and given him the victory, proceeded further to enlarge and embellish the temple of Ammon at Thebes, commenced by Amenemhat I and

[1] On the employment of cavalry by the Egyptians to a certain extent, see M. Chabas' *Études*, pp. 425–30, and compare above, vol. i. pp. 443–50.

[2] See 1 Kings x. 28, 29; 2 Chron. i. 16, 17.

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 295 (1st ed.).

[4] Ibid. p. 298.

advanced by his son, Usurtasen. The temple at this time consisted merely of the central cell, and a certain number of chambers, built at the sides, for the priests' use. Aahmes constructed the cloistered court in front of the central cell,[1] a building 240 feet long by sixty-two broad, surrounding it by a colonnade, of which the supports were Osirid pillars, or square piers with a colossal figure of Osiris in front. At either side of the great portal, which gave entrance to this building, he reared a granite obelisk, seventy-five feet high, on which he commemorated his piety and his worship of the gods of heaven.[2]

The reign of Thothmes I appears to have been short,[3] though Manetho assigned him a period of twenty-one years.[4] He was married to a wife, Aahmes, who is thought to have been also his sister,[5] and had by her a daughter called Hasheps[6] or Hatasu, , and two sons, both of whom bore the same name as their father. At his death the elder of the two sons ascended the throne, and ruled as Thothmes nefer-khau, taking also the additional epithet of Aa-kha-per-en-ra, , or . He is known to moderns as Thothmes II, and had a reign which was brief and unchallenged. After one expedition against the Arabs of the more northern parts of the Sinaitic peninsula, undertaken for the purpose of striking terror into

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 227.

[2] For representations of these obelisks see Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pls. xxxi. xxxiv. and Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, vol. v. pl. 11, g, 6.

[3] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, 89.

[4] Ap. Syncell. (*Chronographia*, vol. i. p. 71, c).

[5] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 200. 1st ed.

[6] The reading Hashepu, or Hasepes, which is current at present, is given by Egypt Agents. (Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 85; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 203–4. 1st ed.; Chabas, *Etudes*, pp. 201, 202, &c.) Professor Dümichen, however, still uses the form Hatasu. (See *Records of the Past*, vol. x. pp. 15 sqq.)

those incorrigible miracle-es,[1] he seems to have given himself up to a life of almost complete inactivity. His sister, Hatasu, appears to have acquired great influence over him, and to have been allowed to assume the royal title and take the leading part in the government. Conjointly, the brother and sister made various additions to the great temple of Ammon at Thebes, while at the same time they busied them-

Head of Thothmes II.

selves with several other buildings of importance.[2] The remarkable temple at Medinet Abou, described in the first volume of the present work,[3] is attributed to this period, and was the result of their combined exertions. Both the brother and the sister were devotees of Ammon, whom they identified with Khem,[4] and were appointed as the source of life and lord of heaven. They also gave prominent position to the lion-goddess,

[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 8.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 380, 1st ed.

[3] See above, vol. i. pp. 281–290.

[4] See the *Inscriptions*, pl. xi. pl. 17, b, c.

Pasht or Sekhet, whom they conjoined with Ammon and Khonsu.[1]

Hatasu is suspected of having cherished an extreme lust of power, and of having sacrificed to it affection,

Head of Queen Hatasu.

and even decency. The early death of her brother is not at her door,[2] and it is certain that after his decease she strove to obliterate his memory by erasing his name from the monuments, sometimes substituting her own name, or that of her father, in its place.[3]

[1] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 14 and 15.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 272 (2nd Dutch edition of *Egypte*, p. 83) says: "Probably one of these revolting conspiracies and family quarrels of the palace is veiled behind the act of the short and inglorious reign of Thothmes II" (compare p. 80).

[3] See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 18 and 21.

She appears to have been a woman of great energy, and of a masculine mind, clever, enterprising, vindictive, and unscrupulous. On the death of the second Thothmes, she took entire possession of the throne, changed her name from Hatasu to Hatasu Khnum-Amun, took the additional throne-name of Ra ma ka, assumed male apparel and the style and title of a king, occupied the royal throne, and allowed her young brother, whom she suffered to live, no better place than a seat upon her footstool.[1] She is constantly represented upon the monuments in male attire, often crowned with the tall plumes of Ammon.[2] She calls herself 'the *son* of the sun,' 'the good *god*,' 'the *lord* of the two lands,' 'beloved of Ammon Ra, the god of *kings*.' She is not, however, wholly consistent in this assumption of the masculine character. Sometimes her garb is that of a woman, her title 'lady,' and her epithet, 'beloved by Ammon,' has the feminine suffix.[3] It may perhaps have been difficult for the sculptors always to bear in mind that the sex of the sovereign from whom they received their commission was to be concealed.

As soon as onward, Hatasu pushed forward her buildings with increased energy, and rapidly brought to completion various works of importance, which she

[1] *Description de l'Egypte*, Ant. pl. 22 and 23.

[2] Ibid. pl. 1, l. 22, 4.

[3] Champollion (Jules), *Rhadopis*, pp. 141, 2. 'On remarquera que ce titre [feminine] affecte contre un usage constant des titres masculins, celui qui est appelée *le roi* et non *la reine*, a une de la pronoun personnel et possessifs qui y représentent dans les textes quand grammaticalement ils sont au féminin. Ces prétentions masculines donnent lieu à des formules très-singulières, dont voici une, dans laquelle l'expression *sa Majesté elle-même* [feminine] est suivie du pronom masculin, et de son équivalent pronom féminin *elle-même*, anglais *His Majesty herself* and *herself*: 'sa majesté elle-même lui-même.'

excite the traveller's admiration. Her edifices are said to be among "the most tasteful, most complete and brilliant creations which ever left the hands of an Egyptian artist."[1] She built a temple, imposed on four steps, which is quite unique among Egyptian shrines, and is known now as that of Dêr el Bahari.[2] She erected obelisks at Thebes in the great temple of Ammon, which equal, alike in size and in delicacy of workmanship, the constructions of any other monarch.[3] She connected her temple, at once with the older erection of Usurtesen, and with the sacred stream of the Nile, by long avenues of criosphinxes in a posture of repose.[4] She set up statues of herself in various places,[5] and inscribed her name upon the rocks of Assuan.[6] Her favourite architect was an Egyptian named Senmut, the son of Ramos and Ha neter, to whose memory she erected a monument which is now in the Berlin Museum.[7]

But the most extraordinary of all the achievements of Queen Hatasu, and the one of which she seems to have been most proud, was the establishment of a species of sovereignty over the distant land of Punt by means of a naval expedition[8] on a scale of which we have no

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. i. p. [illegible] Inf. ed.

[2] Ibid. p. 192. Compare Dümichen, *Flotte einer ägyptischen Königin*, p. 17.

[3] *Denkmäler* pl. xii. pls. 22, 24.

[4] Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. i. p. [illegible]; and *Denkmäler* pl. xii. pls. 3 a, c.

[5] One pl. *Denkm.* g. Here she ends herself the head of Seti and [illegible] the kingship.

[6] Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. i. p. 182, Inf. ed.

[7] The valuable work of Dr. Dümichen, *Die Flotte einer ägyptischen Königin*, which has given a celebrity to this achievement of Queen Hatasu, which it might not otherwise have obtained. This work is now at the publishers, and unfortunately [illegible] a part of the scenes on which the expedition is not being represented [illegible] (New Chelsea. *Études sur l'Antiquité Historique*, 5me Édit.) The resume of Dr. Dümichen's work in the *Records of the Past* (vol. x. pp. 15–30) falls very far short of the original.

trace in the earlier monuments. Five ships[1] at least, manned by thirty rowers each, and having on board besides a crew of some ten or twelve, together with a detachment of Egyptian troops,[2] proceeded from some port on the western coast of the Red Sea to the southern extremity of the gulf, and landed on the shores of Punt,[3] the 'Pu-nuter' or 'Holy Land'—the original seat of Athor and perhaps of Amun—where a most friendly reception was accorded them. The expedition was not of a hostile, but of a purely pacific character.[4] A high official of the court accompanied the fleet as royal ambassador, and a profusion of presents for the chiefs of Punt were placed on board. The great object was to establish friendly relations, and secure both an immediate and also a continuous supply of the precious frankincense, which was consumed largely by the Egyptians in the worship of the gods, and was especially required at this time for the due honour of the great Ammon.[5] The inhabitants were quite willing to barter their highly valued product for the manufactures and for the corn of Egypt. They were simple folk, living on stages built upon piles, in small cabins, which could be entered only by means of a ladder, generally built under the shadow of a grove of cocoa-nut palms, and in the immediate vicinity

[1] See Hatshepsu's *Records*, pl. 1.

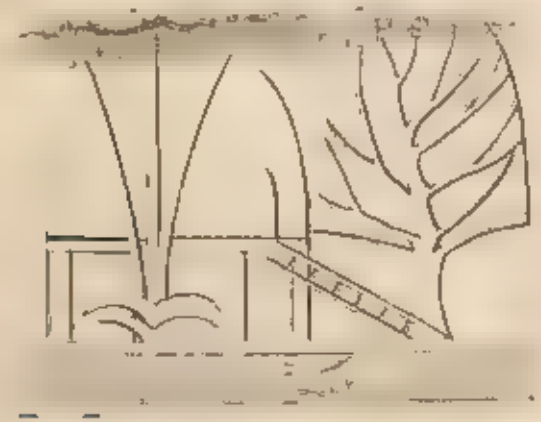
[2] The troops are not represented on the vessels, and they are mentioned in the accompanying inscription (pl. 1, col. 4; doc.).

[3] On the doubt as to the position of Punt see above, pp. 11, 12. Dr. Brugsch connects it with the word *uan*, the name of the Theban tribe (Upon Punt?) can scarcely be maintained.

[4] It is unfortunate that the 'Introduction' to Dr. Brugsch's translation of the legends accompanying the reliefs in the *Records of the Past* (vol. x. p. 7 ff.) should speak of 'naval engagements' and of the 'subjugation and submission of the land.' Punt is now classed by Egyptian himself even as a friend for these expressions.

[5] *Records of the Past*, vol. x. p. 10. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 304, ed. ed.

of the incense-trees.[1] It was among the objects of the expedition to procure not only incense, but a certain number of the incense-bearing trees, which the Egyptians hoped to naturalise in their own country. At their request the natives set to work, and dug up no many as thirty-one of the trees, which they packed



House on Piles in the Land of Punt.

with earth about their roots in baskets, and, having slung them on poles, so conveyed them to the ships, where they were placed upon the deck under an awning.[2] Large quantities of the incense itself were also collected, and packed in sacks tied at the mouth, which were piled on the decks in various places. At the same time other valuable products of the Holy Land were put on board, especially gold, silver, ivory, ebony, cassia, kohl or stibium, apes, baboons, dogs, slaves, and leopard skins.[3] A single tamed leopard or tigress seems to have been also embarked. Homage

[1] Duemichen, *Resultate*, &c., pl. 16.
[2] Ibid. pls. 2 and 3.
[3] *Records of the Past*, vol. x. p. 14. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 308, 1st ed.

was done to the Queen of Egypt by Parahu, the lord of the country, and his unshapen wife,[1] who thus admitted the suzerainty of the Pharaohs; but at the same time it was distinctly stipulated that the peace and freedom of the land of Punt should be respected.[2]

The return of the embassy with its wonderful and varied treasures was made a day of rejoicing at Thebes. Twelve Nile boats of the largest dimensions conveyed the wanderers on a grand procession to the capital.[3] The whole population came out to meet them. A parade was made of the troops which had accompanied the expedition; the myrrh-trees, the strange animals, the many products of the distant country, were exhibited, the tame leopard, with his negro keeper, followed the soldiers; natives of the remote region, called Pamahu, who had voluntarily accompanied the expedition on its return, performed their war-dance.[4] A feast was sacrificed to Ammon, and a new feast instituted.[5] Finally, to perpetuate the great occasion, and prevent its fading away from human remembrance, the entire expedition was represented in an elaborate series of reliefs on the walls of Hatasu's new temple on the western side of Thebes, where they may still be seen, not very much injured by time, by the curious traveler at the present day.

After exercising the complete royal authority for the space of fifteen years, Hatasu found herself under the necessity of admitting her younger brother to a share in the kingdom, and allowed his name to appear

[1] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 61, and *Gallery of Hist.* p. 61.
[2] Lepsius, *Denkm.* pl. 5.
[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 301, [illegible].
[4] Duncker, *Hist. &c.*, pp. 4, 5.
[5] Lepsius, pls. 6 and 11.
[6] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 317, et al.

on public monuments in a secondary and subordinate position.[1] He had now probably reached the age of eighteen or twenty years; and his further exclusion from the throne would have been contrary to Egyptian ideas. He was therefore accepted into partnership; but this tardy recognition of his rights appears not to have contented him, and his subsequent conduct shows that he bore a deep grudge against his too jealous guardian. Actuated by a strong and selfish animosity, he erased her name from her monuments;[2] and it is simply from the circumstance of his agents not having cut deep enough that we are enabled to trace his sister's career without much difficulty. Whether he proceeded to greater lengths, and directed against her person the vengeance which it is clear that he wreaked upon her inscriptions, is uncertain. The joint rule of the brother and the sister appears not to have continued for above seven years,[3] but 'whether Thothmes, after reaching manhood, drove his sister by force from the throne, or whether she slept in Osiris' in the ordinary course of nature, 'we cannot tell, because the monuments are silent.'[4] She was probably not more than about forty years of age at her decease.

The new king, Thothmes III., crowned at length after so long a minority, took the additional title of Nefer-Kheperu—'the best of beetles'[5]—to distinguish him from his father and brother, while at the same time he gave himself the throne-name of Men kheper ra,

[1] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 28.

[2] Ibid. pl. 10.

[3] The latest III. began to reign in the fifteenth year of [illegible] whom he associated the twenty-fifth year (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 314, 1st ed.). His sole reign appears to have commenced seven years afterwards: in what [illegible] caused his twenty-second year (Ibid. p. 320).

[4] Ibid. p. 316.

[5] On the sacred character of the scarabæus or beetle and its symbolism which connected it with the [illegible] see vol. i. pp. 345, 347, 411, 450.

𓂋𓏏𓏏𓏏, as a further distinctive appellation. Thothmes has been called 'the Alexander of Egyptian history;'[1] and though the associations that this epithet awakens transcend the facts of the case, and make the expression, in the judgment of sober criticism, seem exaggerated, yet still it places a striking fact in a striking light. Thothmes III was beyond a doubt the greatest of Egyptian conquerors. Devoted, so far as appears, of any talent for organisation, as far as possible removed from the rank and position of an Alexander among persons gifted with rare administrative capacity, he had at any rate this in common with the great Macedonian, that he carried the arms of one continent into the very centre of another, overcame all hostile opposition, and brought one of the great kingdoms of Western Asia into at least a nominal submission. Considering the circumstances of the time, there is no doubt that his expeditions, and the success which attended them, imply high military talent; and though the general historian must decline to rank him with the really great conquerors that the world has produced—the Alexanders, the Cæsars, the Charlemagnes—yet it must be readily allowed, and asserted, that among Egyptian conquering kings he holds the first place. No later monarch ever exceeded his glories; Thothmes III is the nearest historical approach to the ideal Sesostris,[2] the only Pharaoh who really penetrated with a hostile force deep into the heart of Assyria,[3] and forced the

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 210, 1st ed.

[2] The name Sesostris no doubt comes from a Sesortasen, a Greek form of Usurtasen. The ideal figure was composed by uniting in one the actions of all the chief Egyptian conquerors. As the greatest of these, Thothmes III. furnished the most traits.

[3] Thothmes I. crossed the Euphrates into Mesopotamia and fought battles there, but returned on both of the region. Thothmes III seems to have conquered the entire tract as far as the Khabour, and

great states of Western Asia to pay him tribute, if not even to acknowledge his suzerainty.

The independent public life of Thothmes (Men-khepr-ra) appears to have commenced with the year which he reckoned as his twenty-second. Hitherto he had remained in a subordinate position, under the tutelage, or at any rate the influence, of his sister. Now he was sole monarch, either by her decease or her deposition, and had the uncontrolled direction of his own actions. The natural bent of his disposition at once displayed itself. He engaged in an aggressive war with the Asiatic nations. Starting from an Egyptian post called Garu, or Zalu,[1] in the month named Pharmuthi, the eighth month of the Egyptian year, corresponding to our February, he invaded Palestine, with the object, as is distinctly stated, of 'extending the frontiers of Egypt by his victories.'[2] On the fourth day of the next month, Pashons (March 21), the anniversary of his coronation and the first day of his twenty-third year, he arrived at Gaza, which was a strong city even at this early time, and was regarded as the key of Syria. Here, however, he met with no resistance, the ruler being friendly to him: and having rested his troops for the night, he marched out on the fifth, and proceeded by the coast route to Jahem (Jamnia?), where he held a council of war to determine by what line the advance should continue. According to the intelligence brought in by his scouts,

to have left it to his successors, who held it to the time of Amenophis IV. The later Egyptian monarchs made many raids into Mesopotamia, but no permanent result followed from them.

[1] See above, p. 225.

[2] Dr. Birch identifies Garu with the later Horus-road (*Ancient Egypt* p. 87). But the identification is very uncertain.

[3] See the inscription given by Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 290, 1st ed.) and also in the *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 38.

the enemy was collected in a position near the city of Megiddo, probably in the great plain of Esdraelon, the ordinary battle-field of the Palestinian nations. They consisted of 'all the people dwelling between the river of Egypt on the one hand and the land of Naharain (Mesopotamia) on the other,' the Khara (Syrians, and the Kati, being the principal.[1] At their head was the king of Kadesh, a great Hittite city on the Orontes.[2] The direct route to Megiddo, which passed by Aduma and Taanach, was strongly guarded; but Thothmes insisted on proceeding by this route, instead of making a *detour* as wished by his captains. The event justified his audacity. Megiddo was reached within a week without loss or difficulty; and on the twenty-second of Pashons (April 7) the Egyptian king attacked and completely defeated his adversaries in a pitched battle, driving them in headlong flight from the position which they occupied, and forcing them to take refuge within the walls of the city. The Syrian camp was taken, together with vast treasures in silver and gold; and the son of the king of Kadesh fell into Thothmes' hands. Megiddo itself soon afterwards surrendered, as did the towns of Innam, Anaugas, and Hurankal or Herinokol. As many as 924 chariots and above 5,000 prisoners were captured; and much booty in the precious metals, as well as in flocks and herds, was carried off. Thothmes returned to Egypt in triumph, and held a prolonged festival to Ammon-Ra in Thebes, which he describes at great length in one of his inscriptions.[3]

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 321, 1st ed.

[2] The exact site of this Kadesh is uncertain. Dr. Birch suggests that it occupied the position of the modern Hama, which is enclosed between two branches of the Orontes. (See his *Ancient Egypt*, p. 116.)

[3] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 33–8.

The success of Thothmes in this, his first, campaign whetted his appetite for fresh conquests. Between his twenty-third and his twenty-ninth years, for which his own annals are lacking, he must have been engaged in three more expeditions, since he styles the campaign of the twenty-ninth year his fifth.[1] It appears from the tomb-inscription of his captain, Amenemheb,[2] that one of these was in Southern Judæa, or the Negeb, while in another Thothmes carried the Egyptian arms into Northern Syria, ravaged the country about Aleppo, threatened Carchemish, and even crossed the Euphrates into Upper Mesopotamia, whence he carried off a number of prisoners. It was probably at this time that he first came into contact with the Assyrians, who had recently made themselves independent of Babylon, and *claimed* at any rate the suzerainty over all Mesopotamia as far as the Euphrates. No actual collision between the troops of Egypt and Assyria, either at this time or at any later period of his reign, is recorded, but his advance to Carchemish and pretensions to conquests beyond the Euphrates must have provoked the jealousy of the Assyrian monarchs and caused alarm to be felt at the Assyrian capital. This was not now—as sometimes supposed—Nineveh, but Asshur (Kileh Sherghat). The Assyrian monarchs, till recently subject to Babylon, were not as yet very mighty princes; the great palaces of Nimrud, Koyunjik, and Khorsabad, which have attracted so much attention in these later times, were not built; Nineveh, if it existed, was a provincial town of small repute; the kings, engaged in constant wars with the great power of the South, found the maintenance of their

[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 21; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 320, 1st ed.

[2] Given by Brugsch in his *History*, vol. i. pp. 353-6, 1st ed.

independence a task which taxed their strength to the uttermost, and had effected as yet no very important conquests. The Egyptian monarch, in extending his attacks into the Mesopotamian region, encountered no very great danger, measured his strength against that of no very powerful kingdom. And, in advancing beyond the Euphrates, he was carrying his arms into unknown regions, at the distance of six or seven hundred miles from his resources, and risking an encounter with the forces of an organised state such as did not exist in the long stretch of territory which lay between Egypt and the Great River.

It is advisable, before proceeding further with the warlike expeditions of Thothmes III., to glance briefly at the general condition of the countries lying intermediate between Egypt and the great Asiatic powers of the time, Assyria and Babylonia.

The strip of territory intervening between Egypt and Mounts Taurus and Amanus, bounded by the Mediterranean on the one hand, and the Euphrates and the Syro-Arabian desert on the other, was in the time of Thothmes possessed by four principal nations.[1] These were, in the south, the Khalu or Kharu, identified by Dr. Brugsch with the Phœnicians,[2] but more probably a Syrian people; in the central parts, the Ruten or Luten (Lycians?); above them, towards the west, the Tahu or Zahi; towards the Euphrates, the

[1] No doubt portions of the country were occupied by the very ancient races of the Rephaim, Anakim, Zamzummim, and Emim, mentioned in Scripture, but these races do not appear in the hieroglyphics, and must have sunk into insignificance. The Amorites are sometimes mentioned as possessing parts of the country north of Palestine, and the Jebusites held the tract between the Dead Sea and the Gulf of Akabah. The name 'Canaan' also occurs, but the Hittites are the only Canaanitish nation of the Egyptian records.

[2] *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 231-4, 1st ed.

Khita, or Hittites. The country of the Kharu extended along the coast from the boundary of Egypt to a place called Aup or Aupa, which seems to have been in Northern Palestine,[1] but which cannot be identified with any known site. It included within its borders the cities of Gazata or Gaza, Askalauna or Ascalon, Aaluna (Ajalon?), Starbina or Sharuhen, Makata or Megiddo, Taanaka, and Jaama (perhaps Jamma). Its inhabitants were addicted to mercantile pursuits, and carried on a brisk trade with the Egyptians in times of peace, being regarded by them as a respectable and civilised people. Their northern neighbours, the Ruten or Luten, held the valley of the Orontes and the coast tract as far as Aradus, among their towns were Kadesh, which seems to have been the capital, Aradus, Simyra, Argatu (Aere?), Anaugas, Innam, and Hermokal. They are represented as of a yellowish complexion, with Jewish features and black beards and hair. It does not appear that they were a very numerous people, but they possessed a civilisation of a tolerably high type, fought in chariots that were either painted or covered with plates of gold, used iron armour, had furniture of cedar-wood inlaid with ivory, and manufactured gold and silver vessels of elegant forms and delicately chased.[2] The country of the Tahai, which reached from a little north of Aradus to the Taurus mountain-range, furnished corn and wine in vast abundance,[3] as well as incense, balsam, honey, iron, lead, and various kinds of precious stones.[4] Compared with the Kharu, Ruten, and Khita, the people

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 220, note 1.

[2] See the frontispiece to the first volume of Brugsch's *History of Egypt* and compare the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 138 *a*.

[3] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 21.

[4] Ibid. pp. 21–2.

were unimportant. East of the Taurus and north-east of the Halys, reaching from the Antilibanus to the Euphrates, was the great nation of the Hittites, with their capital at Karkamosha, or Carchemish, on the right bank of the great river. Their country is called in the inscriptions "the great land of the Khita."[1] Its chief cities, besides Carchemish, were Khirabu (Aleppo), Lairanta, Pairika, Khisasap, and Sarapana.[2] The inhabitants were fully as civilised as their neighbours, and at the same time more warlike. They had possessed from a remote antiquity a form of picture-writing, which is found not only in their own proper country, but in various parts of Western Asia,[3] from Cappadocia to the shores of the Ægean. In war the arm whereto the Khita mainly trusted was the chariot-force. Their chariots carried three each—two warriors and the charioteer[4]—whereas the Egyptian chariots carried two only; and they could bring into the field as many as 2,500.[5] Of all the Syrian nations, the Khita were the most powerful, and they maintained a separate national existence down to the time of the Sargonids.

Across the Euphrates, the rolling plain at the foot of the high mountains—the Padan Aram of Scripture—seems to have been known as Naharaim, or "the land of the two rivers;" but the people appear to have been regarded by the Egyptians as Assyrians. There is no reason to believe that they were Assyrians in race; but it is not unlikely that, even at this early time, the Assyrian monarchs, who had thrown off the

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 334, 343, &c., 1st ed.

[2] *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 41.

[3] As at Boghaz-koi, Eyuk, and Karahel on the old road between Ephesus and Sardis. (See a paper by Mr. A. H. Sayce, published in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* for July 1880.)

[4] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 69.

[5] Ibid. p. 71.

yoke of Babylon, claimed a suzerainty over the upper Mesopotamian tribes, as Babylon did over those of the lower region. In reality, the tribes were Scythic, and belonged chiefly to the two races of the Nahari and Tonnkhu; they possessed little internal organisation, and were unable to offer any serious or prolonged resistance to the forces of either Egypt or Assyria. Fluctuating between the two great powers for centuries, they were at length swallowed up by the nearer and stronger of the two, the Assyrians, who absorbed and assimilated them towards the middle of the ninth century before our era.[1]

In his fifth campaign, which fell into his twenty-ninth year, Thothmes directed his attack against the cities of the Syrian coast, took and spoiled Tunep, ravaged the Land of Zahi, cut down the fruit-trees, carried off the crops, and having laden his fleet with a variety of precious objects, sailed back to Egypt.[2] The next year he turned his arms against the more northern Rutten, took and plundered Kadesh, Simyra, and Aradus, emptied the magazines of their grain, and, to secure the permanent submission of the country, carried off as hostages a number of the young princes, whom he thenceforth retained in Egypt, requiring their relations to replace any who died by some other member of their family.[3]

A place called Hannatu on the shores of the lake Nesrain was the chief object of attack in the ensuing year.[4] It was captured without difficulty, and yielded

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[1] As may be gathered from their triumphal personal names.

[2] See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 67–9.

[3] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 21–2. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 309–11.

[4] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 22, par. 8.

[5] Ibid. par. 9.

a booty of 494 prisoners of war and thirteen chariots.[1] It is remarkable that exploits of apparently such little importance should have been placed on record by the Egyptian monarchs with such particularity and exactness; but the fact seems to be that large populations did not exist in Syria at this period,[2] a vast number of petty chiefs divided the land among them, each ruling in his own small town or village, if confederations existed, they were of the loosest character, and it was seldom that even a temporary league united the forces of any large number of cities. Thus the wars of the Egyptians in Syria were carried on, in the main, not by great victories over numerous bodies of troops, but by a multitude of small successes and petty engagements, insignificant separately, but in the aggregate suffering to produce the submission of the inhabitants.

Of all the campaigns of Thothmes, his eighth, that of his thirty-third year, was probably the most important. Starting from the country of the Ruten,[3] he in this expedition directed his attack upon the Mesopotamian region, which he ravaged far and wide, conquering the towns, and "reducing to a level plain the strong places of the miserable land of Naharain," capturing thirty kings or chiefs, and erecting two tablets in the region to indicate its conquest.[4] It is possible that he even crossed the Tigris into the Zab region, since he relates that on his return he passed through the town of Ni, or Nin, which some of

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 331, 1st ed.

[2] Here says with truth: "The inscriptions do not appear to me to indicate any extensive power with a large population in this part of Asia" (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 91).

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 331, 1st ed.

[4] Ibid.

[5] One on the east bank of the Euphrates, at the place of passage, opposite a tablet set up by his father Thothmes I. near to the city called Nii or Nini (*Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 34).

the best modern authorities[1] identify with Nineveh. Tribute was certainly brought him about this time from the 'king of Asshur'[2] as well as from 'the prince of Senkam,'[3] and the tribute included blue stone (*hes hazuri*) from Babylon, and bitumen from Is or Hit.[4] It is not to be supposed that either Assyria or Babylonia was conquered, but a raid was made into the heart of Western Asia which spread terror on every side. Assyria was not only deprived of a portion of her territory; some of her cities were temporarily, others perhaps permanently, occupied;[5] the king himself, in his fastness of Asshur, was smitten with fear, and bought off the hostility of the invader by gifts which were regarded as a 'tribute,' and which were repeated year after year. Even at the distant Senkam, south of Babylon, alarm was felt, and an embassy was sent to propitiate the conqueror by a present.

A curious episode of this expedition is related by the captain, Amenemheb, in the inscription upon his tomb.[6] It appears that in the time of Thothmes III.

[1] As Wilkinson (in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 302, 2nd ed.) and Birch (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 134). Brugsch combats the opinion (*Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 288, last ed.), and even seems inclined to place Naharaina on the country west of the Euphrates. But was this ever Naharaina?

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 289 (last ed.).

[3] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 25. Senkara has been identified with Singar or Sinjar (as present name of the low range which crosses Mesopotamia to about the latitude of Nineveh (Wilkinson), and again with Sumir or Shinar, the Hebrew term for the lower Mesopotamian country (Brugsch); but it is quite possible that the modern Senkereh may be intended.

[4] Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 289; vol. ii. p. 302, 2nd ed. Compare *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 27, note [1], where it is admitted that 'bitumen' is the substance spoken of as furnished by the As

[5] The Egyptian remains found at Assur, the Kouyunjik mounds, Nimrud, and Babylon, all contain the cartouches of Thothmes III. and Amenophis III., which must probably have belonged to objects left there by an Egyptian garrison.

[6] See *Records of the Past*, vol. i. p. 92, and compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 288, last ed.

the elephant haunted the woods and jungles of the Mesopotamian region, as he does now those of the peninsula of Hindustan. In the neighbourhood of Ni or Nuri, large herds of the uncouth animal were to be met with; and Thothmes found leisure, in the intervals of his military operations, to hunt and kill no fewer than 120 elephants, and obtained their tusks. On one occasion, however, he was exposed to great danger. The 'rogue' or leading elephant of a herd made a rush upon the royal sportsman, and would probably have killed him, had not Amenemheb drawn its rage upon himself by inflicting a wound upon its trunk, and so saved his master.

The Mesopotamian campaign of Thothmes' thirty-third year was followed by one or two more in the same country, which riveted the Egyptian yoke upon the more western portion of the district, but do not appear to have much affected the more eastern parts of the territory. Nothing further is heard of Ni or Nuri, no more elephants are hunted; no more tribute arrives from Senkara; the Naharain, over which Thothmes permanently reigned, appears to have been limited to the tract between the Euphrates and the Khabour, east of which his remains cease to be found. It was not a part of his policy to measure his strength against that of either of the great Mesopotamian kingdoms, much less to attempt the conquest of the entire territory between the Mons Masius and the Persian Gulf. He was really content a little to outdo the warlike exploits of his father, Thothmes I., and aimed simply at making the Khabour, instead of the Euphrates, the eastern limit of the empire.

The later campaigns of the great Thothmes were almost entirely in regions which he had previously

overrun, and were undertaken to subdue revolt, to compel the payment of tribute, or to chastise marauders. Expeditions of this kind occupied the monarch almost continuously until his fortieth year,[1] when he appears to have allowed himself a rest from his military labours, and to have turned his attention to inscriptions, obelisks, and buildings. With an elaboration worthy of all praise, though somewhat wearisome to the student of his times, he placed on record, at Karnak and elsewhere, all the details of his several campaigns, all the particulars of the booties which he bore away, and of the tributes which he exacted from the various nations under his rule.[2] It appears that, in the way of tribute or booty, he carried off from the subject countries above 11,000 captives, 1,670 chariots, 3,639 horses, 4,491 of the larger cattle, more than 35,000 goats, silver to the amount of 3,040 pounds, and gold to the amount of 9,054 pounds. He also brought into Egypt from the conquered lands enormous quantities of corn and wine, together with incense, balsam, honey, ivory, ebony, and other rare woods, lapis-lazuli and other precious stones, furniture, statues, vases, dishes, basins, tent-poles, bows, habergeons, fruit-trees, live birds, and monkeys! With a curiosity that was insatiable he noted all that was strange or unusual in the lands which he visited, and sought to introduce each novelty into his own proper country. Two unknown kinds of birds, and a variety of the goose, which he found in Mesopotamia and transported thence to the valley of

[1] Dated record is found of expeditions in the thirty-fourth, thirty-fifth, thirty-sixth, and thirty-ninth years (Brugsch, pp. 335, 337, 339, 340); and others appear to have belonged to the thirty-sixth, thirty-seventh and (? sixth ?

[2] For the particulars see *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 21–62 and Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 329–44, 1st ed.

the Nile, are said to have been 'dearer to the king than anything else'[1] His artists had orders to make careful studies of the various objects, and to represent them faithfully upon his monuments. We see on these 'water-lilies as high as trees, plants of a growth like cactuses, all sorts of trees and shrubs, caves, flowers, and fruits, including lions and pomegranates; oxen and calves also figure, and among them a wonderful animal with three horns. There are likewise herons, sparrow hawks, geese, and doves. All these objects appear gaily intermixed in the pictures, as suited the simple childlike conception of the 'primitive' artist'.[2] An inscription tells the intention of the monarch: 'Here are all sorts of plants and all sorts of flowers of the Holy Land, which the king discovered when he went to the land of Ruten to conquer it. Thus says the king—"I swear by the sun, and I call to witness my father Ammon, that all is plain truth; there is no trace of deception in that which I relate. What the splendid soil brings forth in the way of productions, I have had portrayed in these pictures, with the intention of offering them to my father Ammon, as a memorial for all times."'

Among the numerous inscriptions of this great king, none is more remarkable than that which adorns one of the chambers added by him to the grand temple of Ammon at Thebes, whereby he set forth his supposed connection with those monarchs of the Old Empire whom he acknowledged as legitimate occupants of the Egyptian throne. To Thothmes III belongs the credit of being the first, so far as we know, to attempt the task of arranging the old kings in some-

[1] Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 334, 1st ed. [2] Ibid. pp. 337–8.

thing like chronological order. What materials he possessed for the work, what amount of labour he expended upon it, how far it was an historical, how far an arbitrary arrangement, are points upon which various opinions may be held; but it is incontestable that out of the chaos of the past he educed a certain method and order, which in its main features came to be recognised by the Egyptians themselves as authentic and authoritative. Sixty kings, commencing with Seneferu, and comprising Assa, Pepi, several Antefs, Menthotepes and Usurtasens, were exhibited in a consecutive series as ancestors of the reigning Pharaoh, who represented himself as making offerings to them, and thus acknowledged at once their ancestral relation to himself and their divinity.[1] The 'Great Tablet of Karnak,' as it is called, must always remain among the most important of those documents upon which the arrangement of the early history of Egypt depends; and though by many its value is thought to be surpassed by later and fuller lists, there will always be some to whom, on account of its antiquity, it will approve itself as the most important and most trustworthy of all the early catalogues of kings.

Besides distinguishing himself as a warrior, as a record writer, as a natural historian, and as a genealogist, Thothmes III. was one of the greatest of Egyptian builders and patrons of art. The great temple of Ammon at Thebes was the special object of his fostering care; and he began his career of builder and restorer by repairing the damages which his sister, Hatasu, had inflicted on that glorious edifice to gratify

[1] See Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. pp. 525-31; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 267, 1st ed.; Devéria, *Nouvelle Table d'Abydos*, p. 6 (Paris, 1865) &c.

her dislike of her brother, Thothmes II., and her father, Thothmes I. Statues of Thothmes I. and his father, Amenophis, which Hatasu had thrown down, were re-erected by Thothmes III. before the southern propylon of the temple in the first year of his independent reign.[1] The central sanctuary, which Usurtasen I. had built in common stone,[2] was next replaced by the present granite edifice under the directions of the young prince, who then proceeded to build, in rear of the old temple, a magnificent hall, or pillared chamber, of dimensions previously unknown in Egypt. This edifice was an oblong square, 143 feet long by fifty-five feet wide, or nearly half as large again as the nave of Canterbury Cathedral.[3] The whole of this apartment was roofed in with slabs of solid stone; two rows of circular pillars thirty feet in height supported the central part, dividing it into three avenues, while on each side of the pillars was a row of square piers, still further extending the width of the chamber, and breaking it up into five long vistas.[4] In connection with this noble hall, on three sides of it, north, east, and south, Thothmes erected further chambers and corridors, one of the former, situated towards the south, containing that 'Great Table of Karnak' which was described in the last paragraph.

Thothmes also added propyæa to the temple on the south,[5] and erected in front of it two, or perhaps

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 360, 1st ed.

[2] See above, p. 140.

[3] The nave of Canterbury Cathedral is 154 feet in length and exclusive of the aisles forty feet in breadth, so that its area is 6,160 feet. Add one half, and the result is 9,240 square feet. The area of the Hall of Thothmes was 7,865 square feet.

[4] See above, vol. i. pp. 229-30, and compare Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i. pp. 106-7, 1st ed.

[5] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 386, 1st ed.

four, numerous obelisks. According to an inscription which is still extant, two of these monoliths reached the quite unparalleled and almost incredible height of 108 cubits, or 162 feet, and must have weighed 760 or 800 tons.[1] Two, of which one stands to this day before the Church of St. John Lateran in Rome, attained certainly the height of 105 feet, and weighed 450 tons.[2] These last were inscribed with hieroglyphics which declared: 'The king has made these numerous obelisks to the god Ammon, in the forecourt of the house of the god, on the soul of Ra, as the first beginning of the erection of numerous obelisks in Thebes.'[3] Finally, towards the close of his reign, he repaired and re-erected in front of the temple a second image of his father, which Hatasu had thrown down, and, either at this time or at some other, he also erected the building with statues of himself, which are colossal and full of dignity.[4]

Other erections of this distinguished monarch are the enclosure of the temple of the Sun at Heliopolis,[5] and the obelisks belonging to the same building, which the irony of fate has now removed to Rome, England, and America,[6] the temple of Phtah at Thebes; the

[1] As the Lateran obelisk which is only 105 feet high and has been much damaged, weighs 450 tons (*Histoire générale de l'Egypte*, 'Antiquités,' p. 291), it is impossible that the weight of the more than twice as high obelisk could be so much under 800 tons as Mariette would make it. The proportion is probably quite the other way, there being a certain proportion between the weight and the diameter of the base.

[2] Smith's *Dict.* vol. i. p. 254.

[3] Birch's *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 404, 1st ed.

[4] Ibid. pp. 389-90. This writer speaks of the re-erection of the obelisks on the temple-front of the restoration of the two standing at Karnak and Luxor, whereas the inscription referred to the great temple of Heliopolis.

[5] Birch *Ancient Egypt*, p. 151.

[6] The two obelisks known as 'Cleopatra's needles' were originally set up by Thothmes III. at Heliopolis. Augustus transported them to Alexandria where they remained till recently. At present (July 1880), one ornaments the

small temple at Medinet-Abou, a temple to Kneph, adorned with obelisks, at Elephantine,[1] and a series of temples and monuments at Chebos, Esneh, Abydos, Coptos, Denderah, Lakeabyan, Hermonthis, and Memphis in Egypt, and at Amada, Gorte, Talmis, Pselcis, Semneh, and Kummeh in Nubia.[2] Large remains still exist in the Kommuh and Semneh temples,[3] where Thothmes worships Tothn, the Nubian Kneph, in conjunction with Osirtasen III., his own ancestor. There are also extensive ruins of his great buildings at Denderah, Ombos, and Napata. Altogether, Thothmes III. is pronounced to have 'left more monuments than any other Pharaoh, excepting Rameses II.,' and, though occasionally showing himself, as a builder, somewhat capricious and whimsical, yet still, on the whole, to have worked in 'a pure style,' and proved that he was 'not deficient in good taste.'[4]

There is reason to believe that the great constructions of this mighty monarch were, in part at least, the product of forced labours. Doubtless his eleven thousand captives[5] were for the most part held in slavery, and compelled to employ their energies in helping towards the accomplishment of these grand works which his active mind was continually engaged in devising. We find among the monuments of his time

Thames Embankment while the obelisk is on its way to the United States of America.

[1] 'There also ought to be and by the Duke of Northumberland, and large masses of Syenite House belonged originally to the Pharaohs.'

[2] See Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 57, and ed. Birch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 206-7 (1st ed.). Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 102.

[3] As will be seen by consulting the *Description de l'Egypte*, pl. 1 pp. 47, 48, 50, 52, and 53 of the temple built by Thothmes at Elephantine, which, in the time of the French expedition, was 'singularly perfect and nearly complete' (see Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 206 (1st ed.)).

[4] Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, i. c.

[5] See above, page 237.

a representation[1] of the mode in which the services of these foreign handicraftsmen were made to subserve the glory of the Pharaoh who had carried them away captive. Some are seen kneading and cutting up the clay, others bear them water from a long-lasting pool, others again, with the assistance of a wooden mould, shape the clay into bricks, which are then taken and placed in long rows to dry; finally, when the bricks are sufficiently hard, the highest class of labourers proceed to build them into walls. All the work is performed under the eyes of taskmasters armed with sticks, who address the labourers with the words: 'The stick is in my hand. Be not idle.' Over the whole is an inscription which says: 'Here are to be seen the prisoners, which have been carried away as living captives in very great numbers; they work at the building with active fingers; their overseers are in sight; they insist with vehemence (on the others labouring), obeying the orders of the great shroud lord (*i.e.* the head-architect), who prescribes to them the works, and gives directions to the masters; they are rewarded with wine and all kinds of good dishes, they perform their service with a mind full of love for the king; they build for Thothmes Ra-men-kheper a Holy of Holies for the gods. May it be rewarded to him through a range of many years!'[2]

The scene is so graphic—the words are so forcible and suitable—that many have recognised in this remarkable picture an actual representation of the oppressed Hebrews[3] working under the tyrants who

[1] *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pt. i. pl. [illegible] p. [illegible]. An excellent drawing of the scene is given in the author's *Herodotus*, i. [illegible] p. 441, 2nd ed.

[2] See Records of the Past, *Monuments of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 23; Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, p. 300 [illegible] ed.; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i.; *History of the Old Testament*, vol.

'made their lives bitter with hard bondage in mortar and in brick,' beating them and ill using them, so that 'all the service, wherein they made them serve, was with rigour,'[1] but the best crimes of the present day[2] are of course that, though the work is an excellent illustration of the sort of life led by the Israelites under the Pharaohs who oppressed them, yet, in point of fact, it depicts not their sufferings, but those of quite a different people. The labourers were persons whom Thothmes had carried off in his wars—the captives of his bow and of his spear—not members of a despised race, which he had inherited with other subjects from his forefathers; their countenances have a Semitic cast, but are certainly not markedly Jewish; and the general character of their physiognomy is very different from that of the Jews. They have light hair, and in several instances blue eyes,[3] they are slight in frame as the Egyptians themselves, and in few instances do they wear a beard. While, therefore, we must look with special interest on a work which brings before us the sort of suffering that befell the Israelites in their hard bondage in Egypt, we are bound to regard it as bearing only indirectly on this subject, and as primarily illustrative only of the mode in which prisoners of war were treated by the Egyptians in the palmiest days of the Empire.

It may be asked, however, with some excuse for the question, what *was* the condition of the Israelites at this time? Were they still in Egypt, or had they already gone forth? Did or did not Thothmes III

1. p. 162. Kalisch, *Comment on Exodus*, p. 9; Palmer, *Egyptian Chronicles*, vol. i. Introduction, p. xx.

[1] Ex. i. 14.

[2] See Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 38; Brugsch, *History of Egypt* under the Pharaohs, vol. i. p. 75 (2nd ed.); Wilkinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 2 n. 1.

[3] See the representation in the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 40.

stand in any peculiar relation to them? An undying interest attaches to the Hebrew race, and Egypt herself derives from her connection with the 'peculiar people' more than half the attractiveness which she possesses for the general public. Without this, she might still, through her antiquity and her mysteriousness, draw to herself the regards of the recluse student, of the philologist, and the antiquarian, but to the masses she would be simply an empire dead and gone, a closed page of old world history, the 'shadow of a great name,' and nothing more. It is because 'Israel sojourned in Egypt,'[1] and the house of Jacob among 'a people of strange language'[2]—it is because the life and character of the Jewish race were decidedly impressed and coloured by their long residence in that wonderful land, and their long contact with the wonderful Egyptian nation—it is because for nearly eighteen centuries the histories of Egypt and Palestine were intermixed, and the Hebrew and Egyptian races acted and reacted one upon the other, that the world at large does not regard Egyptology with aid literature, or turn a deaf ear to those who seek to instruct it upon Egyptian matters. Naturally, it is at the points of contact between Egyptian and Hebrew history that the interest of the former culminates, and the historian of Egypt, when he reaches the probable period of the servitude and the Exodus, is found to throw as much light as he possibly can on the time and circumstances of their occurrence.

We have expressed our opinion that Joseph was probably the minister of Apepi, the last Shepherd king, and that the sons of Jacob entered Egypt from Palestine under his protection.[3] Hospitably received by a

[1] Deut. xxvi. 5. [2] Ps. cxiv. 1. [3] See above, pp. 233-5.

people of the same pastoral habits with themselves, the Israelites occupied the land of Goshen, a portion of the Jauite nome,[1] lying between the Sebennytic and Pelusiac branches of the Nile, where they fed their own flocks, and at the time superintended the herds belonging to the Egyptian king.[2] If Joseph lived, as is commonly supposed, about seventy years after this event, he must have long outlived Apepi, whose entire reign is estimated at sixty one years.[3] Probably he died under Aahmes, about B.C. 1600, having of course lost his position of "lord over the whole land," when the Shepherd dominion fell, but having left an undying name, which long protected his kinsmen. For many years they lived peacefully and undisturbed in the region assigned them, where they "were fruitful, and increased abundantly, and multiplied, and waxed exceeding mighty," until the land "was filled with them."[4] At length a "new king arose up over Egypt, which knew not Joseph."[5] The only question which can properly be raised at this period of the history is—Who was this? Was Thothmes III., or was any one of his predecessors of the eighteenth dynasty, the "new king," and had the oppression of the Israelites now begun, or were they still living in the quiet and retired position which they occupied from the first, "serving" the Egyptians,[6] but not tormented by them? Chronological considerations lead to the conclusion that the severe oppression had not yet begun. It was consequent on the very great multiplication of the Israelites, which rendered them formidable to Egypt, and led

[1] See Brugsch's map accompanying the second volume of his History of Egypt under the Pharaohs.
[2] Gen. xlvii. 6.
[3] Manetho ap. Syncell. Chronog. p. 61. B.
[4] Gen. xlvii. 27.
[5] Exod. i. 8.
[6] Ibid. verse 8.
[7] Gen. xv. 13.

multiplication required time for its development, and cannot reasonably be thought to have attained such proportions as to call for severe measures of repression in the century, or century and a quarter, which had intervened between the reign of Apepi and that of Thothmes III.[1] The 'new king' must be looked for at a date considerably later than that of this monarch, and we must regard Thothmes and all the earlier kings of this dynasty as Pharaohs under whose sway the nascent people remained quietly in Goshen, rapidly multiplying and increasing, but not to such an extent as to draw upon them, as yet, the jealous fear of their sovereign.

Among the inscriptions of Thothmes are some which seem to ascribe to him a series of victories over the nations of the south,[2] as well as over those of the north and the north-east; but his own annals are so nearly complete, and his own constant presence with the forces engaged in Syria and Mesopotamia is so distinctly marked, that it seems impossible to view these southern victories as gained by the monarch in person.[3] They were the front, it is probable, of campaigns carried on by his generals in the opposite quarter to that against which his own efforts were directed—campaigns which resulted in the capture of numerous prisoners and the carrying off of much booty, but which did not add any new province to the Empire.

According to one writer, the maritime successes of

[1] The generations from Aapehet to Thothmes III. are five, whence with probability a period of between 125 and 150 years. The calculation on from the accession of Thothmes II. gives 61 + 25 + 13 + 21 = 120 years. The reign of Thothmes II. was short, probably not exceeding five or six years.

[2] *Records of the Past*, vol. i. p. 14; par. 23, Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 303, 1st ed.

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 302, 1st ed.

Thothmes were almost more remarkable than those which he gained by land. 'One perceives,' says Maspero,[1] 'by the inscription upon the sides of the Theban tent that the fleets of the great Pharaoh, after having first conquered Cyprus and Crete, had further subjected to his sceptre the islands of the southern Archipelago, a considerable portion of the seaboard of Greece and of Asia Minor, and even perhaps the lower extremity of Italy. It appears to me that one might be convinced from the same monument that the war-vessels of Thothmes III. penetrated pretty frequently into the waters of the Black Sea, where Herodotus pretends that the Egyptians had before this founded a colony in Colchis for the working of the mines.[2] I am, in fact, disposed to recognise the ancestors of the German Æsæ—the descendants of the Ashkenaz of Genesis x.—at this time dwellers on the Palus Mæotis in one of the tribes enumerated among the northern peoples who paid tribute to the fleet of Thothmes. In another direction the same force had made the authority of Egypt to be acknowledged along the entire seaboard of Libya. Monuments of the reign of Thothmes III. have been found at Oberchel, in Algeria, and it is not at all impossible that they really mark the limit whereto the power of this prince extended on the north coast of Africa.'

Now, it is certain that Thothmes was accompanied and supported by a considerable fleet in several of his

[1] *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. pp. 287, 7.

[2] Herodotus says nothing about the working of the mines, nor does he even refer to the existence of mineral treasures in the Colchian territory. According to him, the colony would seem to have consisted of soldiers who had been incorporated into the army of Sesostris by conquest. (Herod. ii. 104.)

expeditions into Syria;[1] and it is not at all improbable that he extended his dominion over the island of Cyprus, which in a much less flourishing period was conquered and held by Amasis.[2] But the extended maritime dominion assigned to him in this passage scarcely rests on any secure or statistical foundation. It is not accepted by the more sober of modern Egyptologists,[3] nor can it be said to have probability in its favour. The spirit of maritime enterprise which animated the Greeks, the Phœnicians, and the Carthaginians, was at no time rife in Egypt; and Egyptian sailors would scarcely have confronted the perils of the inhospitable Euxine, or even of the open Mediterranean, without a much stronger inducement than any which the European coasts had at this time to offer them. It is said that they may have employed the services of Tyrian mariners;[4] but there is no evidence that Tyre was at this early date (*circ.* B.C. 1500) a great maritime state, or indeed that the Phœnicians proper had as yet passed from the Persian Gulf to the Mediterranean.[5] The sole foundation on which M. Lenormant's theory rests is that of the ethnic names occurring in the hymn or song of victory inscribed by Thothmes on the wall of the temple of Ammon at Thebes, but these names are of exceedingly doubtful import, and, according to Dr. Brugsch, designate none but Asiatic or African nations

[1] See above, p. 233; and compare Dr. ... *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 295, 301 and 455, 2nd ed.

[2] Herod. ii. 182.

[3] As Birch and Brugsch, who know of no such extensive maritime enterprise. Birch supposes that Thothmes exercised authority over some of the islands of the Archipelago (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 100), But, when treating this question, Brugsch says that Cyprus was the Phœnician name for Asia Minor.

[4] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 360.

[5] See the remarks of Heeren, vol. ii. p. 263, 2nd ed.

The passage on which M. Lenormant rests his theory is thus translated by his German fellow-labourer[1] —

(AMMON *loquitur.*)

I came not here, against the counsel of Ra,
I will not here make thy soil over all their lands
I made them regard thy Horus as the hunting ass
Then shrunk at the sight of him in my form

I came and thou shouldst not dwell in Asia,
Then I let captive the great herds of Typhon,
I made them behold thy Horus new to thy naval adornments,
With a grappling cry weapon in the war-chariot

I came, and then smotest the host of the East
Then overhelmed ages not the dwellers in the Hittite land,
I made them to behold thy Horus as the star-lion,
Which sends forth its heat and disperses the dew

I came and then smotest the land of the West,
Keft and Asia the Phœnician and Cyprus and them to fear,
I made them look upon thy Horus as upon a young bull,
Courageous, with sharp horns, whom none can approach.

I came and then smotest the subjects of their lands
The land of Mat was trembling for fear of me
I made them look upon thy Horus as upon a crocodile,
Lord of the waters, not to be overwhelmed

I came and then smotest them that dwelt in the Great Sea,
The rich lands of the seas were straitened by weariness,
I made them behold thy Horus as the Avenger,
Who always carries out the work of his wishes

I came, and then smotest the land of the Tahennu
The people of Libya and them were to thy power,
I made them see thy Horus as a mighty lion of war,
Who lies down and sleeps there in the valleys

I came and then smotest the land of the northern, Isles
The circuit of the Ocean Sea is bound in thy grasp
I made them behold thy Horus as the hovering hawk,
Who seizes with his grasp whatever passes him.

[1] *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 371-2, 1st ed.

I came, and I set about the lands in front
Those that sat upon the sand [illegible] away apart in
I made them behold thy Majesty like the pride of the South,
Which passes through the lands as it wills, wanderer.

I came, and I set about the nomad tribes of Nahi,
Even to the end of Shat which them holdest in a grasp,
I made them behold thy Majesty like thy part of heaven,
Whose hands I have united to bless thee.

If this be a correct version of the Egyptian original, it is clear that the maritime dominion claimed is of the vaguest kind. Some 'dwellers in the Great Sea' are said to have been smitten, which would be sufficiently answered by the reduction of Cyprus, or even by that of the island Tyre and of Aradus; others have heard and feared the conqueror's war-cry; he has smitten certain 'northern' nations, which may point merely to the Retenu and the Tahi or Zahi; and 'the circuit of the Great Sea is bound in his grasp,' which would be ordinary Oriental hyperbole for obtaining the mastery over the Eastern Mediterranean. On the whole, it would seem to be most probable that the fleets of Thothmes III. traversed only the extreme eastern portion of the Levant, and that his maritime dominion did not extend further than the coasts of Egypt, Syria, Cilicia,[1] and Cyprus.

Still, it is not without reason that the latest historian of Egypt has pronounced Thothmes III. to have been the greatest of Egyptian kings.[2] And those

[1] The Matoi or Mato of the 90th stanza are regarded by Dr. Birch as representing Asia Minor generally. *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 51, note. 'Ancient Egypt,' p. 108. They are perhaps the Matoi of Herodotus (i. 72), who adjoined the Cappadocians. Upon [illegible] but their locality cannot at present be fixed. Probably they held possession of the [illegible] mountains.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 195. 'We would have had to award to the greatest king of Egyptian history

restless, brave even to rashness,[1] equally remarkable as a warrior and as a general, successful on land as much as in his military operations, he spread the name and fame of Egypt through distant lands, alarmed the great empires of Western Asia, conquered and held in subjection all Syria and Western Mesopotamia as far as the Euphrates river, probably reduced Cyprus, chastised the Arabs, crushed rebellion in Nubia, and left to his successor a dominion extending above eleven hundred miles from north to south, and (in places) four hundred and fifty miles from west to east. At the same time he distinguished himself as a builder. Restorer or founder of a score of temples, designer of the great 'Hall of Pillars' at Thebes, by far the largest apartment that the world had as yet seen, erector of numerous gigantic obelisks, constructor and adorner of vast propylæa, author or restorer of at least five huge colossi, he has left the impress of his presence in Egypt more widely than almost any other of her kings, while at the same time he has supplied to the great capitals of the modern world their most striking Egyptian monuments. The memorial which he erected to commemorate his conquest of the land of Naharaim looks down upon the place of the Augustan in the city of Constantine; one of his great Theban obelisks rears itself in the midst of the Piazza in front of the Church of St. John Lateran in Rome,[2] while the two spires which he set up before the temple of the Sun at Heliopolis,

[1] So speaks even his apocryphal Theban memorial on his obelisk, stating on oath that none of them would precede him in his attacks on the enemy, or stand before him before the king was to afford him protection. See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 292 (1st ed.).

[2] Various writers (but chiefly Theodore II. *Travels in Italy*, p. 637, E. T.) but it is undoubtedly the work of his successor (Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 401 1st ed.).

after long adorning Alexandria, have been conveyed respectively to London and to New York, where they may check the overweening arrogance of the two proudest nations of the modern world by showing them that the art and engineering skill of ancient Egypt were in some respects unapproachable. It may be further noted that the name of Thothmes III. is found, more frequently than any other, on scarabæi and small images,[1] which were used as amulets, whence it would seem that he was regarded after his death as a sort of deity of good ones, a preserver against the evil influence of wicked spirits and sorcerers.[2]

Bust of Thothmes III.

In person Thothmes III. does not appear to have been very remarkable. His countenance was thoroughly Egyptian, but not characterised by any

[1] Birch, *Guide to Museum*, p. 70.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 300.

strong individuality. The long, well shaped, but somewhat delicate nose, almost in line with the forehead, gives a singularly feminine appearance to the face, which is generally represented as beardless and moderately plump. The eye, prominent, and larger than that of the ordinary Egyptian, has a pensive but resolute expression, and is suggestive of mental force. The mouth is somewhat too full for beauty, but is resolute, like the eye, and less sensual than that of most Egyptians. There is an appearance of weakness about the chin, which is short and retreats slightly, thus helping to give the entire countenance a womanish look. Altogether, the face has less of strength and determination than we should have expected, but is not wholly without indications of those qualities.

Thothmes III died after a reign of fifty four years,[1] according to his own reckoning,[2] probably at about the age of sixty,[3] since he seems to have been a mere infant at the death of his father, Thothmes I. He married a wife called Hatasu Merum,[4] by whom he had at least two children, a daughter,[5] Nefrura, and a son, Amenhotep, who succeeded him.

Amenhotep, the son of Thothmes III, took on his accession the throne name of Ra-n-khepru, and is known in history as Amenophis II.[6] He was not a king of any great force of character or ability. During

[1] See the Sheerd, roll of Karnak, lines 20 to 24 of the *Records of the Past*, vol. v. p. 103, line 18.

[2] That is, was reckoned by his successors to have been place upon the throne of his brother, and thus according to his own reign of the years of Hatasu.

[3] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 134.

[4] See the *Denkmäler*, vol. iii. pl. 24 *a*, *b*, where Hatasu Merum is called her "royal wife, who is adorned with the double plumes, with horns, disk and tall plumes."

[5] Rosellini, pl. 20 *b*, *c*, Lepsius *Auswahl*, Taf. xxv. No. 1 *bis*.

[6] An account of the mines given by Manetho (ap. Syncel. Chronograph. vol. i. p. 74, *a*, *b*,

his short reign of some seven or eight years,[1] he achieved but little that is deserving of remembrance. As crown prince, it would seem that he had conducted a campaign against the Bedouins of the desert between the valley of the Nile and the Red Sea, in which he had obtained certain successes.[2] As king his efforts were directed solely to the maintenance of the Empire acquired by his father, and the chastisement of those who rebelled against his authority. Following the usual practice of Oriental subject nations at the death of their conqueror, the tribes of Western Asia no sooner heard of Thothmes's decease than they renounced their allegiance to Egypt, and reclaimed their independence. Amenophis in his first or second year had to undertake an expedition against the rebels, and to re-establish the authority of Egypt over the entire region which had been conquered by his father. It appears that he was everywhere successful. He rapidly overran Syria and Mesopotamia, taking the chief cities after short sieges, and even pushed his arms as far as the town of Ni, the supposed great city of Nineveh.[3] At Takhsi in Northern Syria he slew, he tells us, seven kings with his own battle-club, after which he suspended their bodies from the prow of his own war-vessel, and in this way conveyed them to Egypt, where he hung six out of the seven outside the walls of Thebes, and the remaining one on the wall of Napata, to serve as a warning to the negroes of the south.[4] It

[1] The seventh year of Amenophis II. is given in the monuments of Karnak (*Records of the Past*, p. 109). The reign is supposed to have terminated shortly after this date, but its exact duration is uncertain.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 376 (ed. 1).

[3] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 141; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 400 *et seq.*

[4] Brugsch, p. 409.

is remarkable that Amenôphis II. is the first king who represents himself in the act of killing several captured monarchs at one and the same time with a club or mace,[1] and the account which he gives of his proceedings raises the suspicion that he could himself scarcely have personally accomplished by his own hand. If so, we must regard him as at once cruel and barbarous—cruel, to condemn to death so large a number, when the execution of two or three would have been equally efficacious as a warning, barbarous, to take upon himself the odious office of executioner. Modern Egyptologists have for the most part glossed over, or ignored, the errors and cruelties, the defilements and abominations, which deformed the civilization of Egypt. It is not the wish of the present writer to give them undue prominence, but the interests of historic truth require that, when the occasion offers, they should be noted, lest a false estimate should be formed of the degree of refinement and of moral development to which the Egyptians of Pharaonic times attained.

The countries which Amenôphis II. claims to have chastised and reduced to obedience are eleven in number; but some of them are very vaguely indicated. A recent writer thus enumerates them:[2]—"The land of the south, the inhabitants of the Oases, the land of the north, the Aramæans or Syrians, the Mitannians (Ruthenians), the Nubian nomad tribes, the Asiatic husbandmen, Naharaina, Phœnicia, the Chetan coast, the upper Euphrates country." If all these had rebelled Amenôphis must certainly have had enough to occupy him during

[1] On the frequent occurrence of which, as given in the *Denkmäler*, this kind of representation, see [illegible] above, vol. i. p. 473, note 4. The [illegible] Brugsch *History of Egypt*, second [illegible], I believe that vol. i. p. 414, [illegible] of Amenôphis II. at Koummeh,

his short reign, and deserves some credit for having re-established the authority of Egypt on its sides, after it had been so seriously menaced.

As a builder, Amenophis II. fell very far short, not only of his predecessor, but of most Egyptian kings of this period. The hall which he added to the great temple of Ammon at Thebes is on a mean scale, and poor in the character of its ornamentation;[1] his temple at Amada in Nubia is of no particular merit, nor do the additions which he made to the temple of Tothmes at Koum-ah[2] strike the traveller as having much to recommend them to his notice. His best monument of his reign is his tomb at Abd-el-Qhurnah, where he is represented seated upon his throne with a sceptre in his right hand, and wearing the peculiar head-dress which characterises the god Menthu. Below him is a frieze containing the escutcheons of eleven captured kings, who in front of him are made to do reverence, and after them, bringing gifts of various kinds, slaves, boxes, colossal statues, furniture, arms, vases, mirrors, and the like.[3] His other sculptures are chiefly religious, and exhibit him as a worshipper of Harmachis, Ammon Ra, Thoth Khuphi, Isis, and Osartasen III., the great Nubian conqueror. They are all of them of a commonplace character.

Amenophis was the son of Thothmes Menrui, and in one place represents her as seated beside him on a throne like his own,[4] which would seem to imply that she had considerable weight in the government. He had a son, Shemmuses or Khamus, who bore the office of high priest of Ammon, and a grandson Amenhotep, or

[1] Prisse, *History of Egypt*, as quoted, pl. 67, vol. i. p. 41. et seq.
[2] See the *Denkmäler*, vol. v. pl. [illegible].
[3] Ibid. pl. 67 and 68.
[4] Ibid. pl. 67 A.

Amenôphis, with the surname of Hapû.[1] The son, however, who succeeded him on the throne, bore his grandfather's name of Thothmes, to which he added those of Men-kheper-ra, [illegible], and Sa-shan, [illegible], on his accession. It would seem that Thothmes was not the eldest son, or expectant heir of his predecessor, since he first has access to the special favour of Harmachis, and relates how that deity appeared to him as he slept, and raised his thoughts to the hope of sovereignty.[2] Naturally, when he became king, it was to the worship of Harmachis that he specially devoted himself, and identifying that god in some peculiar way with the Great Sphinx of the Pyramids,[3] he set himself to clear away the vast mass of loose sand which had accumulated round the monument, and to exhibit to his contemporaries the entire figure in all its marvellous grandeur and beauty. At the same time he set up between the fore paws of the Sphinx a massive memorial tablet, twelve feet high, and nearly eight feet broad, on which he recorded the circumstances of his dream, his resolve to undertake the work of removing the immense accumulation of sand, and his hoped-for happy accomplishment of his enterprise.[4] In front of his memorial tablet, and also within the paws of the monstrous animal, Thothmes constructed a small temple for the worship of the god with whom he identified it, which was recently discovered by Dr Lepsius but is now again enguifed by the ever-encroaching sands of the desert.[5]

As a warrior, Thothmes IV. proved little that

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 412, 1st ed.
[2] Ibid. p. 416.
[3] On this identification see above, p. 60, note [3].
[4] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 417 et seq.; *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 65.
[5] Brugsch, p. 419.

was remarkable. One expedition against the Hittites of Syria,[1] and another against the Ethiopians or people of Ethiopia,[2] are all that can be assigned to him. The former he commemorated on the great temple of Amen-ra at Thebes, the latter in the Nubian temple of Amada. The satrap, Amenhotep, seems to have accompanied him on each of these occasions, and to have aggrandized his master's successes into a general subjection of both the South and the North.[3] Thothmes, however, in a memorial tablet at Gizeh, represents himself as smiting two enemies only.[4]

Head of Thothmes IV.

In his youth, Thothmes was addicted to field sports and manly exercises. He hunted the lion in the desert region to the west of the pyramids of Ghizeh, and practised spear-throwing for his pleasure with

[1] Brugsch, p. 413.
[2] Ibid. p. 414.
[3] See the inscription of Amenhotep now in the British Museum.
[4] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 78 *a*.

bronze weapons, which he hurled at a target. So swift were the horses which he was accustomed to drive in his chariot, that, according to his own statement, they outstripped the wind, and when he overtook persons as he was driving he passed them so rapidly that they could not reach him.[1]

Like his father, Tethmosis IV died when he was still quite a young man, having reigned not more than eight or nine years.[2] He was succeeded by his son, Amenhotep or Amenophis, who took the throne-name of Ma'at-ka-ra,[3] , and is known as

Head of Statue in Museum

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 311, line 11.

[2] The exact length of the reign of Tethmosis IV. is uncertain, but it was probably not long, for the name of his successor is found on the rocks of Sinai, dated in the second year of his reign. No dates earlier appear on the monuments. Manetho, however, assigns to this king a reign of nine years, and the Turin papyrus of kings gives him nine years and eight months.

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 312; also *Dictionnaire géographique*, p. 1080, and 734.

Amenophis III. Born, as it would seem, of an Ethiopian mother, Mut-em-ua,[1] Amenophis had a somewhat foreign physiognomy; and it was probably owing to his foreign connexion that he favoured changes in the State religion which were looked upon as revolutionary. He married a wife named Tii or Taia,[2] who was certainly a foreigner,[3] though of what nation is doubtful.

[illegible] of Queen Tii or Taia.

Her father's name was [illegible], her mother's [illegible], pos-sibly [illegible]

[1] [illegible] *History* [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[3] [illegible] *History of Egypt* [illegible]

attached to her and dominated by her influence, he leant towards that exclusive and peculiar Sun worship which was established by his successor, and, though not the direct introducer of the change, must be viewed as having paved the way to it by accustoming the Egyptians to the idea.[1] The religious history of the ancient Eastern world is a subject at once too wide and too obscure to be discussed in this place episodically; but it cannot be questioned that from a very ancient date there existed in Arabia and elsewhere a special devotion to the brilliant orb of day, which from time to time aspired to become a distinct and separate religion. In the nature worship of the Old Egyptian Empire the Sun had but a very unimportant place. Ptah, Khem, and Knoph had been the principal deities, while Ra had occupied a quite subordinate position. With the rise of Thebes to power, a change had occurred. Amun, early identified with Ra, and known commonly as Amun Ra, had been recognised as the head of the Pantheon; Menth, Set, Tum, Harmachis, solar gods, had risen in rank and position; the solar element in the Egyptian religion had, as it were, asserted itself and come to the front. Now a further development became manifest. The theory was broached that the bull of night, the actual material sun, was the sole proper object of worship, and that the polytheism hitherto maintained as the State religion was false, wrongful, blasphemous. An alteration was ordered to be made at once out of the fifty or sixty which had

[1] Amenophis III. erected a new temple to the sun-god at Thebes, which he called "Thebes-with-the-name-of-Aten" (Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, iii. 139 *a*), and on good grounds is supposed to have built the great temple of the Sun at Soleb in Nubia (see Birch, *Egypt*, p. 137, ed. 4).

He also passed some decree or [illegible] of heresy against the worship of [illegible] and [illegible] the [illegible] Sun-disk (see Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 357, ed. 2).

Heresy headed among them the religious regards of the people. Under Amenhotep III., indeed, the doctrine still remained veiled, but its lowering influence began to be felt from this time; and the reign of Amenhotep III. is chiefly remarkable as conducing towards the religious revolution which so shortly followed.

But the reign is not remarkable for this only. From a military point of view, it is in fact uninteresting and of slight moment.[1] Amenôphis did not extend the power of Egypt either in the north or in the south. There are indications that he maintained in the north the dominion which had descended to him from Thothmes III.,[2] and abundant proof that he engaged personally in military operations in the south,[3] but we cannot ascribe to him any extension of the Egyptian territory even in this quarter. He was content, as it would seem, to conduct razzias on a large scale against the unhappy negro tribes,[4] and to carry off into captivity some thousands of their members, the great majority consisting of women and children.[5] He may possibly have obtained the submission of some tribes which were not previously subject, and it is not unlikely

[1] I do not agree with Dr. Brugsch [illegible] Amenôphis III. contented with the great [illegible] Hist. d'Egypte, p. [illegible] Dr. Brugsch [illegible] the question of [illegible] with the Mitanni (Hist. d'Egypte, p. [illegible]). There is no evidence that he engaged in any [illegible] expedition against Naharaina. I would also [illegible] Dr. Brugsch [illegible] negro [illegible] were probably not [illegible] wars.

[illegible] the [illegible] of Semneh [illegible] by Rosellini (Monum. Storici, p. [illegible]) [illegible] the inscription found at Kôban in Lower Nubia [illegible] and Mesopotamia (Harvard, Annals, [illegible] p. [illegible]).

[2] Compare pp. [illegible] and see Brugsch, Hist. d'Egypte, [illegible] pp. [illegible], 1st ed., [illegible] 1859.

[3] I fail to discover, with M. Lenormant, [illegible] the expeditions de [illegible] are [illegible] toujours [illegible] souvent pour [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] Monnaies et Médailles, [illegible], p. [illegible]).

[4] Brugsch, History of Egypt, vol. i. p. [illegible] et seq., Birch, Ancient Egypt, p. 108.

that he once or twice defeated the Ethiopians; but it is absurd to speak of him as a conquering monarch, or to put him "on a level with the great Thothmes" in respect of military matters.

As a builder, on the contrary, Amenóphis III. is entitled to very considerable credit, and may claim a place among the most distinguished of Egyptian monarchs.[1] Tablets existing in the quarries of Tenna near Mesphes show that he began to excavate stone for the temples as early as the first and second year,[2] and the size and number of his works are such as to indicate unusual activity in sculpture and building during the whole term of his long reign of thirty-six years. Amenophis erected the great temple at Ammon at Luxor, one of the most magnificent in all Egypt,[3] embellished that of Karnak with a new propylon, built two new temples on the same site to Ammon and Mut, and united the whole quarter of the temples at Karnak with the new temple of Ammon at Luxor by an avenue of cross-shaped sphinxes with the usual ram's heads.[4] He also built two temples to Neph or Kneph at Lepsius, one to Thothes, whose image at South in Nubia, ship-like with a propylon and ram sphinxes before it at Gebel Berkal or Napata, and another almost at Sedinga.[5] Inscribed tablets dated in his reign are found at Semneh, in the island of Konosso, on the rocks between Philæ and Assouan, at El-Kab, at Sinai, and at Silsilis.

[1] M. Lenormant has been with Lepsius, Ameno[illegible] all the great monarchs of Egypt, "for no prince *exhibits such bad taste*."

[2] See Wilkinson, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 42, 1st ed.

[3] See the description in Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i. pp. 158-9, 1st ed.

[4] Lepsius, *Denkm.* iii. 80 a, b, 81 a, b, 82 a, b.

[5] Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, vol. i. p. 88, 1st ed.

Khadnu in the Sinaitic peninsula.[1] Of all his edifices, that which approved itself the most highly in his own eyes was the temple, or rather perhaps the temple-palace, of Luxor. 'I built on the rocky soil,' he says, 'a court of alabaster, of rose granite, and of black stone. Also a double tower gateway and I erected, because I had undertaken to do unto the most beautiful thing possible to my divine father Ra Ammon, Statues of the gods are to be seen in it everywhere. They are carved in all their parts. A great statue was made of gold and all kinds of beautiful precious stones. I gave directions to execute, O Ammon, what pleased thee well, to unite thee with thy beautiful dwelling.'[2]

It was in connection with this set of buildings, one built upon the opposite bank of the Nile, that Amenophis caused to be constructed the most remarkable of all his works—the two gigantic statues which are still to be seen before the ruins of his temple, on the *dromos*, or paved way, by which it was approached.[3] These sitting figures, which represent the king at rest, were carved, each of them, out of a single block of solid reddish sandstone.[4] Their present height above the pavement on which they stand is seventy-six feet,[5] and the original height, including the tall crowns worn by Egyptian kings, is supposed to have been nearly ninety feet.[6] No other Egyptian colossi are known to have much exceeded thirty feet. A portrait from

[1] See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 139, and Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt*, etc., pp. 148, 149, and Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 430, 431.

[2] Brugsch, vol. i. p. 429.

[3] Wilkinson, as above.

[4] Brugsch, p. 430.

[5] Ibid. p. 429, note 1. In Lepsius, *Letters from Egypt*, etc., p. 148, the height is given as 'nearly seventy-two feet.'

[6] Brugsch, ibid. See also Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 430, note 1, where the statements of Ammianus and Pliny concerning the Egyptian colossi are quoted. Pliny would give a height of one hundred feet.

has attached to one of these statues, owing to the accident that during the space of about 220 years it emitted a musical sound soon after daybreak, and thus attracted to itself an inordinate share of the attention of travellers. A magical power was thought to be inherent in the 'vocal Memnon'—as the statue was called—and for above two centuries travellers flocked to it, inscribed their names upon it, and added sensible or silly remarks.[1] Eminent writers also took notice of the phenomenon, and spoke of it as one of the prodigies which made Egypt a land of wonders.[2] Moderns believe the sound to have been the result of the sun's rays, either upon the stone itself, or upon the air contained in its crevices.[3] Musical sounds produced by change of temperature are frequently given forth both by natural rocks and by quarried masses of certain kinds of stone; and their occurrence has been placed on record by eminently scientific persons.[4] There is no sufficient reason to doubt that the tone, 'like the breaking of a harpstring,' discharged by the colossus of Amenophis, was a casual instance of this natural phenomenon, rather contrived nor even understood by the Egyptian priests. It is thought to have been first given throughout the shattering of the statue by an earthquake (B.C. 27), and to have ceased upon the repair of the image by Septimius Severus, circ. A.D. 196.

The impressive appearance of the twin colossi has

[1] See the work of Letronne, *La Statue Vocale de Memnon considérée dans les Textes Grecs et Latins*, and the *Egypt of the Greeks and Romans*, in the *Quarterly Review*, No. 202, pp. 465–8.

[2] Strabo, l. 17, p. 816; Tacitus, *Ann.* ii. 61; Pliny, *H. N.* xxxvi. 7, § 11; Juv. Sat. xv. 5; Lucan, *Pharsal.* x. 176.

[3] Sir David Brewster is said to have first given this explanation in the *Quarterly Review* for Jan. 1831. Various learned men, as M. Letronne, Dr. Jäger, M. Letronne, and others.

[4] As by Humboldt, Jomard, De Rozière, &c.

[5] Παῦται δὲ τοῦ ἤχου τοῦ ἐκ τοῦ λίθου τοῦ ἐν Θήβαις ὑπὸ τῶν ἀκτίνων τοῦ ἡλίου γινομένου.

THE TWIN COLOSSI OF AMENHÔTEP III.

been frequently noticed by travellers. 'There they sat, says Miss Martineau, 'together, yet apart, in the midst of the plain, serene and vigilant, still keeping their ancient watch over the lapse of ages and the eclipse of Egypt. I can never believe that anything else so majestic as this pair has been conceived of by the imagination of Art. Nothing, certainly, even in Nature, ever affected me so unspeakably; no thunder storm in my childhood, nor any aspect of Niagara, or the Great Lakes of America, or the Alps, or the Desert, in my later years.' And again 'The pair sitting alone amid the expanse of verdure, with masses of ruin behind them, grew more striking to us every day. To-day, for the first time, we looked up to them from their base. The impression of sublime tranquility which they convey, when seen from distant points, is confirmed by a nearer approach. There they sit, keeping watch—hands on knees, gazing straight forward; seeming, though so much of the face is gone, to be looking over to the monumental piles on the other side of the river, which became gorgeous temples after these thrones were placed here—the most majestic thrones that have ever been established on this earth!'[1]

The sculptor of these wonderful colossi bore the same name as his royal master, and prided himself on their execution, conveyance and safe emplacement as the greatest achievements of his genius. 'I moreover chose,' the name of the king, he says, 'and no one has done the like of me in my works. I executed two portrait statues of the king, astonishing for their breadth and height—their completed form lowered,

[1] *Eastern Life* vol i pp 84 and 285

the Temple tower—forty cubits was their measure—they were cut in the splendid sandstone of Assuan, or rather, below the eastern and the western Thebes, said to be built eight shots, whence the statues were carried up the river; they were engraved in their sublime language: they will last as long as heaven. A joyful event was it when they were hurled at Thebes and raised up in their place.'[1]

In brief, the works of Amunothep III., as described, and as depicted, are among the most striking left by any of the kings, being equally remarkable for their number, for their vast size, and for the delicacy and finish of their execution.[2] A liberal patron of all kinds of activity, he evoked the genius which so required, and covered Egypt and Nubia with masterpieces of art, in the grand and solid style for which the land of Mizraim is celebrated.

Amunothep was also distinguished as a lover of field sports. During the first ten years of his reign such was his success in the pursuit of the wildest kinds of game, that he is able to boast of having slain with his own hand (either 110 or, according to another authority, 210 pieces of lions.[3] Later on, he presented to the priests who had the charge of the great temple at Karnak a number of live lions,[4] which he had probably caught in traps. These ferocious beasts seem occasionally to have been baited by the Egyptians, but it is possible that they were employed to add grandeur and dignity to some of the religious processions. The lion was sacred to the gods of Horus and

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 427 (Eng. ed.); Birch, p. 430.

[2] Birch says (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 107; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 429 (Eng. ed.)).

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 427 (Eng. ed.).

of Tum,[1] his fitness to symbolise royalty caused the employment of his image to ornament the most elaborate of the Egyptian thrones;[2] and, if we may trust the sculptures, a lioness often accompanied the king to the battle field.[3] Africa has always been a special nursery of lions,[4] and Amenhotep, like his other Tuthmes IV,[5] may have indulged his passion for chasing them without going beyond his own borders; or, like some of the great Assyrian kings, as may even be made Mesopotamia his hunting ground, and have carried off his sporting honours in the field which at a later date supplied the noble game to Tiglath-pileser and Sardanapalus.[6]

In personal character Amenophis was remarkable for kindness, generosity, and submission to female influence. In the early part of his reign he was governed by his mother, Mutemua; in the middle of it later he deferred greatly to his wife Ti or Tiua. The honours assigned to Ti in his sculptures[7] are unusual, and imply something like dual sovereignty. Amenhotep, son of Hapu,[8] and other functionaries, especially the vizier Khouiant,[9] were treated with much kindness and consideration by their generous sovereign, and received rewards at his hands for which they were duly thankful. Rewards were also liberally showered on the priests and other subordinate func-

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 42.

[2] See the *Frontispiece*, pl. 1; also pls. 2 *b*, 4, 5, 7, 10 *b*, &c.

[3] See above, vol. i. p. 163.

[4] Herod. ii. 191. Dr. Wilkinson (p. 288) believes that the wild lions were very abundant in Egypt. But they were to be found principally in the deserts on the Libyan border, and were perhaps little more numerous than is generally imagined.

[5] See above, p. 250.

[6] *Layard's Nineveh*, vol. ii. pp. 318, 434; *Transactions of Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. v. pp. [illegible].

[7] See the *Frontispiece*, pl. 1, pl. 72, 74—84 *b*, 86, and *passim*.

[8] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 4–5, [illegible].

[9] Ibid. p. 467.

foreigners, who do not appear to have in any way exceeded their ordinary routine of duty. The mere payment of taxes was accepted as a token of loyalty and good will, and earnest or honourable declaration of a wish or a necessity. At the same time justice was carefully administered: even petty thefts did not escape inquiry and determination,[1] and conviction was followed by adequate punishment.

Head of Amenôphis III.

Amenôphis is represented with a face that is somewhat prognathous,[2] that is, one which has the jaws

[1] Brugsch, p. 438.

[2] Ibid. p. 439.

[3] Wilkinson remarks a peculiarity on the consonantal sounds of his name (see the author's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. 561, 3rd ed.). The statues in the British Museum, especially No. 61, show the prognathous character of the face better than the above illustration.

appeared beyond the line of the forehead. He has a long nose, much rounded at the end, a short upper lip, and a projecting and somewhat pointed chin. The expression of his face is passive but determined. He is sometimes beardless, but more often wears the usual long beard, not covering the chin, but depending from it, and descending to the middle of the bosom.

The reign of Amenophis has lasted at least thirty-six years.[1] He appears by the monuments to have had four sons, whom he represents as engaged in religious worship on more than one occasion.[2] He had also at least three daughters, called respectively Isis, Honttamhib, and Sutamen.[3] His wife, Tyi, survived him,[4] and left the crown to his eldest son, Amenophis, or Amenophis IV., under her direction and superintendence.

Amenophis IV. has a physiognomy entirely different from that of any other Egyptian monarch, and indeed one altogether abnormal and extraordinary. His general appearance is rather that of a woman than of a man;[5] he has a slanting forehead, a long thin nose, a flexible projecting mouth, and a strongly developed chin. His neck, which is most unusually long and thin, seems scarcely equal to the support of his head, and his spare shoulders appear ill adapted to sustain the weight of his over-corpulent body. He is supposed to have derived this strange physique from his maternal ancestors, who are thought to have been Abyssinians of the Galla family.[6] The throne names

[1] The thirty-sixth year of Amenophis IV. occurs in a tablet at the Sarbût el Khâdim (Dümichen, *Historical Inscriptions of Egypt*, p. 49).

[2] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 76, and 8.

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 344 (Engl. ed.).

[4] It appears on the mummy-case of Amenophis IV. as still living (*Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 100, 101, 102).

[5] See the woodcut overleaf, as I compare the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 81, cited. Brugsch speaks of the most unusual traits in his countenance (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 344, Engl. ed.).

[6] Brugsch, *l.c.*

which he assumed upon his accession were Nefer kheperu-re, and Uaenre; but it was not long ere he exchanged these appellatives, which were of the usual Egyptian type, and substituted for them the strange and wholly unheard-of designation of Khu-en-aten, 'Light of the Solar Disk,' which thenceforward he employed on his monuments almost exclusively. Among

Head of Amenôphis IV. (Khuenaten).

his honour-titles were Ma'-Aten and Ma'-Harmakhu, 'priests of the solar disk, and 'friend of Her or Her (Ra-Harmakhis),' whereas he identified with the sovereign. He was the first king to compose cartouches of this class with the cartouche, and in this way to elongate and amplify

[1] Brugsch, l.s.c. For illustrations see the *Denkmäler* pt. iii. pls. 99, 100, &c.

his royal title. He was also the first openly to bring forward the disk worship as the sum and substance of the State religion, and not only to devote himself to it with all the enthusiasm of a thoroughly Oriental nature, but to press it upon his subjects, as the proper substitute of all their ancient worships. Considering the gross character of much of the Egyptian religion, we feel strongly inclined to the belief that Amenhotep's change was one in the right direction; that it would at once have stamped out and have parried the evil that result, had it prevailed; would have swept away much superstition, many pollutions, and would have replaced them by a belief and worship, comparatively speaking, pure and spiritual.[1] It would have been something to have substituted a form of monotheism for the multitudinous polytheism of the old creed, it would have been more to get rid of the debasing animal worship and the coarse Khem worship so generally prevalent. If a people is too gross to rise to the spiritual conception of a immaterial deity, and *must* attach the idea of God to something of whose existence it has sensible evidence, there would seem to be in the sun an affinity and symbolic aptness which render it fitter to represent the Deity than aught else which is material.[2] In the Egyptian disk worship, if we may judge by the small existing remains of it, there was a high tone of devotional feeling, and a conception of the Supreme Being not wholly unworthy of Him. 'Beautiful is thy setting, O disk of life,' says one

[1] M. Lenormant does not [illegible] Egypt (*Manual of Ancient History*, translation, vol. i. p. 387).

[2] However the images of Scripture [illegible] (Mal. iv. 2) as the Christian [illegible] as a woman clothed with the sun (Rev. xii. 1).

votary.[1] 'Beautiful is thy setting, thou lord of lords and king of the worlds. When thou restest thyself at thy setting with the heavenly sphere, mortals rejoice before thy countenance, and give honour to him who has created them, and pray before him who has formed them, before the glance of thy son, who loves thee, the king Khuenaten. The whole land of Egypt and all the nations repeat all thy names at thy rising, to magnify thy rising, in like manner as thy magnify thy setting. Thou, O God, who in truth art the living one, standest before the two eyes. Thou art He who createst that which previously was not, who formest everything, who art in everything. We also have come to being through the word of thy mouth.' 'Thou disk of the sun, thou living god, says another,[2] 'there is none other beside thee! Thou givest health to the eyes through thy beams, creator of all beings. Thou goest up on the eastern horizon of the heaven, to dispense life to all which thou hast created—man, four-footed beasts, birds, and creeping things of the earth wherever they live. All these behold thee; and they go to sleep when thou settest.'

The religious revolution on which Amenophis was bent, aroused, as a matter of course, the strongest hostility on the part of the priests; and the priests had it in their power to excite feelings of disaffection on the part of the people. Dr Brugsch is of opinion that when Amenophis, not content with the introduction of the disk worship and its establishment as the religion of the court, proceeded to ordain a crusade against the old religion, and, as a first step, gave command for the obliteration of the names of Ammon and his wife,

[1] See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 440, 1st ed.
[2] Ibid. p. 470.

Mut, from the monuments, 'open rebellion broke out,'[1] and the city of Amnion ceased to be a safe residence for the heretic monarch. Accordingly he deserted it, and proceeded to build for himself a new capital on a new site. Equally averse to both Thebes and Memphis, he fixed on a situation midway between the two, and on a broad plain on the right bank of the Nile, at the site of the modern Tel-el Amarna, he rapidly brought into existence a wholly new city, which he called Khuenten, and adorned with numerous monuments of considerable architectural pretensions.[2] The quarries of syenite were had under contribution, and large quantities of granite were cut in the 'Red Mountain' of that neighbourhood for the construction of the new metropolis.[3] A stately temple was erected on an entirely new plan in the vicinity of the royal palace, several extensive courts were built, in which breakfasts were set up, a new style of ornamentation, free in a great measure from the old conventional restraints,[4] was introduced, and the city of Khuenten rapidly attained to considerable size and beauty.

It would seem that the bold step taken by the innovating Pharaoh was thoroughly and completely successful. After his removal to Tel-el Amarna we hear of no further difficulties with his subjects. He reigned for at least twelve years in unbroken peace and tranquillity, employed in beautifying the city which he was the founder, in setting up tablets to commemorate his own merits, together with those of his wife and daughters, and in bestowing honours and gifts on his

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 342 [transl.].

[2] See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 91, 111.

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 343 [transl.].

[4] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 110.

foreigners of his court and the inhabitants of his capital.[1] In his domestic life he was especially and exceptionally happy. Deeply devoted to his mother, for, he received her gladly into his new city, made her a permanent resident at his court, and treated her with marked respect and honour.[2] To his wife, Queen Nefert Iti, he was most tenderly attached, and for the numerous daughters whom she bore him his affection was almost as great. 'Sweet love fills my heart,' he says in one inscription,[3] 'for the queen, and for her young children. Grant a long life of many years to the Queen, Nefert Iti, may she keep the hand of Pharaoh! Grant a long life to the royal daughter, Meri Aten, and to the royal daughter, Mek Aten, and to their children! May they keep the hand of the queen, their mother, eternally and for ever! What I swear is a true avowal of what my heart says to me. Never is there falsehood in what I say.' Altogether Nefert Iti bore him seven children,[4] who were all daughters, and who bore a strong resemblance to their father.[5] These young princesses accompanied him when he travelled, each riding in her own two-horsed chariot.[6]

A few military expeditions of no great importance belong to the reign of Amenhotep Khuenaten, but they do not seem to have been conducted by the monarch in person.[7] The Syrians of Ir Nahrain and

[1] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 1 et seq.; Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 366 et seq.; Petrie, *History*, vol. ii. p. 152.

[2] Ibid. p. 152.

[3] Petrie, *History*, vol. ii. p. 150; and Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 366. The names of Meri Aten, Mek Aten, Ankhes-en-pa-Aten, Neferneferu-Aten, and Nefer-neferu-Aten Tasherit, and Bek-Aten. (Compare Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 103 *b*.)

[4] Seven daughters are represented (*Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 109 *b*), but Petrie (*History*, vol. ii. p. 150) has proved that Nefer-neferu-Aten Tasherit was born after the fourth year of the reign of Amenhotep IV.

[5] See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 103 *b* and 109 *b*.

[6] Ibid. pl. 107.

[7] Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 369; Petrie, *History*, vol. ii. p. 150.

the negro races of the South are represented as led before him by the general, Har-em-heb, who may perhaps be presumed to have gained the victories in which they were made prisoners. The triumph celebrated by Khuenaten on account of these successes is dated in the twelfth year,[1] which is the latest known year of his reign.

Khuenaten's want of male offspring caused some difficulties in respect of the succession on his death. His daughters' husbands seem to have become rival candidates for the Egyptian throne, and to have reigned in rapid succession one after another. The order of the names is disputed;[2] and it is perhaps enough to say that three monarchs, Smenkht, Ai, and Tutankhamen, all of them more or less closely connected with Khuenaten,[3] intervened between that king and Har-em-heb, the last Pharaoh of the eighteenth dynasty. Ai and Tutankhamen have each left memorials, by which it appears that the former held the throne for at least four years,[4] and carried on successful wars with the Asiatics,[5] while the latter received embassies both from Ethiopia and Syria with rich and costly presents, both in the shape of rare products and articles of an artistic character.[6] The Syrians brought gold, lapis lazuli, turquoises, and other precious stones, together with horses, chariots, and vases of silver, while

[1] Brugsch, *Geog.* i. 250.

[2] Ibid.

[3] Brugsch gives the three next successors of Amenophis IV. as follows: Smenkht, Tutankhamen, Ai. But the husband of Meritaten, Ai, Tutankhamen.

[4] Meritaten was married to Ai-amen or Mer-em-ra, one of Khuenaten's successors. Tutankhamen had for wife Ankhsenpaaten, the daughter of Khuenaten and Nefertiti. It was the husband of this name that changed his name to Khuenaten. (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 440, 450, 1st ed.)

[5] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 111. Compare the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. p. 110.

[6] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 450, 1st ed.

[7] Ibid. pp. 457, 458; *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 196, 197.

from Ethiopia came gold in chasings, gold in vessels set with jewels, chariots, ships, weapons, and oxen whose horns were tipped with ornamental carvings. Egypt, it would seem, maintained her foreign dominion unimpaired in the south, and in the north was still recognised as mistress of Syria. We may suspect, however, that she had been forced to relinquish her Mesopotamian possessions, since we have no evidence of tribute coming in from Naharaim subsequently to the reign of Amenophis III.[1] and no trace of an Egyptian occupation of the tract east of the Euphrates at any later date.[2]

There is some difficulty in understanding the exact position which the three immediate successors of Khuenaten took up with respect to his religious reformation. On the one hand, it is clear that a full share of the odium which attached to the disk worship was inherited by them, since 'the avenging chisel' has mutilated their names and features almost as determinedly as those of Khuenaten himself; on the other, it appears that two at least out of the three monarchs departed from his religious principles, so far at any rate as to restore the Amenian worship, and to associate it with the cult which their own inclinations may be supposed to have favoured. Thus Ankh-em-em even consented to parade his royal forgery by exhibiting in his name an attachment to the Ammon worship, and Ai 'succeeded to Amen and his associated gods according to the old traditional custom'.[3] Both of these

[1] M. Lenormant says that Tushratta promised an image of Ishtar to the Egyptian 'Memnon' (*Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 186); but the embassy alluded to came from the Hittites, a people of Syria.

[2] The Egyptian objects found by Sir H. Layard at Athur or Assur belong to the reign of Amenophis III.

[3] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 111.

[4] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 291; *Dictionnaire*, pp. 113 *sq.*

kings, moreover, reigned at Thebes, which was restored to the honour of being the state-capital, the metropolitan city of Khuenaten falling back into obscurity. On the whole, there are perhaps grounds for supposing that the successors of Amenophis IV., finding that his reforms were odious to the priests, if not even to the great mass of the Egyptians, made an attempt at conciliating their opponents by a species of compromise. They tolerated—may, to a certain extent patronised—the old system, but their sympathies were with the new; outwardly they returned to the ancient paths, but in their hearts they preferred the 'way' introduced by Khuenaten. As commonly happens when persons 'halt between two opinions,' they failed to please either side, and Egypt, after a brief period of religious hesitancy, shook off their influence and returned with unabated zeal to its previous form of nature-worship.

The eighteenth dynasty terminated with Horemheb-Meriamunon, , who is identified with the Horus of Manetho,[1] and appears to have been a prince of vigour and ability. Though married to a sister-in-law of the heretic monarch,[2] Khuenaten or Amenophis IV., he proved himself a staunch adherent of the ancient religion. No sooner had he mounted the throne than he set to work with a strong determination to complete the religious restoration begun under his immediate predecessors. He destroyed the edifices of such of them as he deemed tainted with

[1] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 112; Lenormant, *Manual*, Eng. trans., *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 473, Lond.

[2] See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 466. M. Lenormant believes that he was Khuenaten's youngest brother (*Manual*, Eng. trans., but Dr. Brugsch regards him as more probably the son of a queen whom Amenophis III. had married after the death of Queen Taia (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 462–8, Lond.

heresy, obliterated in numerous cases the image of Khuenaten re-cut the name of Ammon on the monuments from which it had been erased, and built of materials obtained by his demolitions a new gateway to the temple of Ammon at Karnak, to manifest his deep devotion to the great Theban deity.[1] At the same time he gave their due honours to the other gods. He represents himself as worshipping Horus, Thoth, Khem, Set, Khensu,[2] and as specially cherished by Athor and Anuka.[3] According to an inscription which he set up at Thebes[4] he 'renewed the cowlings of the gods, from the shallows of the marsh land of Atu[5] to the confines of Nuout. He had all their images sculptured as they had been before. He set them upon their temples, and built a hundred images made—all of like form—for each of them, out of all manner of costly stones. He visited the cities of the gods, which lay as heaps of rubbish in the land, and had them restored just as they had stood from the beginning of all things.' He re-established for each a 'daily festival of sacrifice,' provided the temples with a due supply of 'silver and golden vessels, of 'holy persons and singers, presented to them 'arable land and cattle,' and gave them day by day a sufficiency of 'all kinds of provisions.' Gods and men were equally delighted with the new *régime*. 'The heaven was in festive disposition, the land was filled with ecstasy, and, as for the dwellers of Egypt, their souls were full of pleasant feelings. Then the inhabitants of the land, in high delight, raised towards heaven the song of praise: great and small, lifted up

[1] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 114, 115; vol. i. pp. 264–5 (ed. of *Records of the Past*, vol. v. pp. 20 *et seqq.*).

[2] Lepsius, pl. 111 *a*, *b*, 122 *a*, *c*.

[3] Ibid. pls. 120 *c*, 123 *b*.

[4] See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, p. 322.

[5] Or the meaning of this phrase, see above, p. 144.

their voices; and the whole land was moved with joy!'[1]

Besides accomplishing this great religious restoration, which included the rebuilding or repair of almost all the temples throughout Egypt and Nubia, Horumheb engaged in at least one important war with his neighbours upon the South. In this quarter, Ethiopia,

Bust of Horumheb

though often defeated, and sometimes despoiled of territory, as by Usurtesen III.,[2] was still unsubdued, and, to prevent or punish predatory attacks, expeditions were from time to time necessary, which wasted the pride of the irrepressible kind, and secured Egypt a period of repose. Horumheb conducted one of these expeditions, invaded the land of Kush, here

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 407, 1st ed.
[2] See above, p. 155.

dawn all opposition, and came back from his successful campaign laden with booty and accompanied by numerous prisoners. In the rock temple of Silsilis he represents himself as he was borne in triumph by his attendants on his return.[1] Seated in a palanquin, ornamented on its side by the figure of a lion, and upheld by twelve bearers, he presented himself to his astonished subjects, amid the acclamations of those who shouted: 'Behold the son, who has fallen upon the land of Kush!' See, the divine benefactor returns home after subduing the princes of all countries. His bow is in his hand, as though he were Menth the lord of Thebes. The powerful and glorious king leads captive the princes of the miserable land of Kush. He returns thence with the booty which he has taken by force, as his father Ammon ordered him.'[2] Cowards with sticks cleared the road by which the procession was to pass; behind the king went his chosen warriors, leading with them the captured generals as prisoners; these followed the rest of the army, marshalled in various corps, and marching in time to the sound of the trumpets there. A numerous company of Egyptian officers, priests, and other officials came out to receive their monarch, and to do homage to him. To complete his triumph, two entire negro prisoners were made to grant the glories of their conqueror. 'I adore thy face, O king of Egypt, they said, 'in the face of the barbarians! Thy name is great in the land of Kush, where thy warcry resounded through the dwellings of men. Great is thy power, thou beneficent ruler—a

[1] *Denkmäler* pt. v. pl. 2; Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. i. p. 457, last ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt* p. 112; Lenormant, *Manual of History Ancient*, vol. i. p. 364.

puts to shame the peoples. The Pharaoh—life, salvation, health to him!—is truly a shining sun.'[1]

It is gathered, somewhat doubtfully, from one inscription, that the reign of Horemheb lasted at least twenty-one years.[2] Manetho assigned him a still longer space, if we may believe the epitomists, who, however, vary in their accounts between twenty-eight years and sixty-seven.[3] His wife, Nekhem-mut or Mut-nodjem,[4] seems to have borne him no children;[5] and thus he was unable to leave his throne to any issue of his loins. It is suspected that he reigned in right of his wife rather than by any royal rank of his own, and that she still retained the sovereignty for a while after his decease;[6] but the monuments are obscure upon the point, and the circumstances under which the glorious eighteenth dynasty came to an end, and the nineteenth succeeded it, are unknown to us.[7]

As the art and civilisation of these two dynasties are so similar and indeed almost identical, it is proposed to defer the consideration of these subjects to the close of the next chapter.

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[1] Brugsch, p. 280; Birch, *loc. cit.* See the poetry on Brugsch's *Hist.* [illegible]

[2] The number twenty-eight is the Year on Papyrus, that on the Boulaq Stone is doubtful, and thirty-eight is the same writer's Abydos.

[3] What an Egyptian personal name can be, as with the names of a god, is uncertain; whether the element was pronounced *Nut* or *Mut* [illegible] Between Nekhem-mut and Nofer-hetep-neferu, Amen-mai and Isat-em-kheb, Mut-notem and Notem-mut, and the like.

[4] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 113. M. Lepsius (*loc. cit.*) however, supposes her to have died or ceased to reign before Horemheb. He would also distinguish between the Queen Mut-nodjem (*Memoir of History, Literature*, vol. i. p. 281).

[5] Birch, *loc. cit.*

[6] Lenormant says M. Lepsius, [illegible] cette question importante reste entière. Le hasard amènera la découverte de nouveaux monuments qui jettera de la lumière.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE NINETEENTH DYNASTY (ABOUT B.C. 400-1250).

Accession of Ramses I. His Syrian War. Accession of Seti I. His War with the Shasu, Kasi, and Khita. Peace made with the Kasi. Conquer and re-Lebanon. Recovery of Memphis etc. War with the Libyans and Ethiopians. Seti's great Works. His Palace at Karnak. His Personal Appearance. His Association of his Son Ramses. Reign of Ramses Meriamun. Commencement of his. His Wars with the Assyrians and Ethiopians with the Hittites with Naharaina. His Treaty of Peace with the Hittites. Intermarriage of He marries a Hittite Princess. His later African Wars. Large number of his Captives. How employed on making them their Employment. Great Works of Ramses public and domestic. His Personal Appearance. Domestic Relations and Character. Decline of his son, Menephthah. his troubled Reign. Insignificance of his Monuments. Double Character of his Foreign Policy. Invasion by a mass of Egypt by the Libyans and three tribes. Disgraceful Identification of these tribes with Europeans Notions. Repulse of the Libyan Attack. Relations of Menephthah with the Israelites under Moses. Troubles of his later years. Example between his Son Seti II and Amenmeses, or Amenmeses. Brief Reigns of these Monarchs. Length of Siptahas. Period of Anarchy. Restoration of Egypt under the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Dynasties. Its Literature and its Kindred Arts. Religion. Manners and Customs. Literature. Drawbacks on the general Prosperity.

We now approach the grandest period of Egyptian history, the reign of the Nineteenth dynasty and the reign of the great Ramses. I. Sharpe's *Ancient History*, vol. i. p. 119.

THE founder of the nineteenth dynasty was a certain Ramses, , or Rameses, , the first prince of that celebrated name—a name which afterwards became so glorious as to eclipse almost every other Egyptian royal title. His birth and parentage are in

the highest degree uncertain; and the conjectures of the latest historians of Egypt upon the subject are so various and conflicting[1] as to increase, rather than diminish, the obscurity which hangs about his origin. The newness of his name,[2] the strangeness of his praenomen,[3] the peculiarity of the application which was first made of his name,[4] and the fact that he was the recognised head of a new dynasty, combine to establish it as almost certain that he was not *one home*, unconnected by blood with the monarchs of the preceding line, the Thothmeses and Amen-hotepses, one who raised himself to power at a time of political trouble and disturbance by his own talents and energy. Manetho, according to Josephus, gave him a reign of only a year and four months, and we may thus regard him as prevented by

[1] Lenormant supposes him to have been a grandson of Horus, which, though rather doubtful, is another opinion than that of Wilkinson (*Manners and Customs*, vol. i. p. 80). Bunsen (*Egypt*, p. 111) would have him to be a relative of Horus. Perhaps the wife of Horus, named Nefert-ari, and Rameses may have been brother and sister.

[2] Rameses, or Ra-mes-su, is a name which appears to have been borne by no other Egyptian. Dr. Birch suggests that Rameses I was the son-in-law of Horus (*Hist. of Egypt*, p. 106). According to Wilkinson, the name means *He of Ra*, or *Ra is born* (*Manners and Customs*, vol. i. p. 80). Mr. Osburn, with more probability, derives it from Ra, the sun, and Mes, "child," and explains it as "Child of the Sun" (*Monumental History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 408). Lenormant and Brugsch Bey agree with him.

[3] Rameses' praenomen was not known to Champollion, who was only acquainted with his second name. It is analogous to the earlier forms, Aah-mes and Thothmes, and means "Child of Ra, or they mean respectively "Child of the Moon" and "Child of Thoth." (See Chabas, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Egypte au temps de l'Exode*, p. 70.)

[4] He was the first to take the praenomen of Ra-men-pehti, or Men-pehti-ra, a name more suited to the attendants of Amen-mes, which was Ra-men-ka or Neb-pehti-ra. The word *pehti* had been used in this connection since the time of Aahmes.

[5] The name of Set had been obliterated upon the cartouches of the Hyksos. It had received under Thothmes III. (*Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 30 b, 31 b, &c.) at least seven out of the eight letters of its name, and probably the whole. Rameses I, however, has not attempted to protect and preserve the name of Set, but has left it exposed to possible obliteration.

[6] Manetho, fragment 15. The word is corrupt, but seems to point to the right reading. See Unger, *Chronologie*, p. 73, n. 1.

an untimely end from attacking any great distance. The circumstances which controlled him were difficult. Egypt had, it would seem, during the troubled times that followed the death of Amenophis IV., lost almost all her Asiatic possessions, and fallen back into the position from which she was raised by the first and the third Thothmes. When Rameses came to the throne, he found the Hittites (Kheta) masters of Syria, dominant over the whole region from Mount Taurus to Philistia. In league with the other Canaanite nations, with the Philistines, and even with the Bedouins of Shasu, they had attempted a renewed invasion of the territory from which they had been driven by Aahmes. To meet this danger, Rameses seems to have marched an army into Syria, to have engaged the Kheta in at least one battle,[1] and to have been so far successful that he induced the Hittite monarch, Sepnur or Sadel, to conclude with him an offensive and defensive alliance.[2] We do not know whether he engaged in any other wars. Perhaps the prisoners whom he attached to the temple of Khem-Horus near Wady Haifa, to the number of a hundred and of both sexes,[3] were the produce of his Syrian campaign, transported to the opposite limit of the Empire.[4]

The coronation of Rameses I. is represented on the entrance gate of the great temple at Karnak, where the monarch also exhibits himself as worshipping Month, Nefer-Tum, Sun, Tefnut, Seb, Netpe, Isis, Osiris,

[1] Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 340 [illegible] *Egypte*, p. 111; Lenormant, *Manual of Hist. of the Orient*, vol. i. p. 307.

[2] See the "Treaty of Peace between Rameses II. and the Hittites" published in the *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. pp. 28–9.

[3] Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, i. [illegible]

[4] This was the present subject of the Assyrian Bas-reliefs [illegible] the Persian monuments (See Ancient Monarchies, vol. ii. p. 6[illegible], note 1, pp. 48[illegible] vol. iv. p. 448; Herod. iv. 204; v. 20 and 124).

[5] Brugsch, l.s.c.

and Sebek.[1] Besides these sculptures, the only important work which he undertook was his tomb in the Bibân el Melûk, or 'Valley of the kings' sepulchres,' near Thebes, which is a rock-chamber of no very large dimensions, but ornamented with a number of bas-reliefs. In one, on his descent to Amenti, he is introduced by Horus to Osiris,[2] in another he worships Neb-er-tcher, represented with a scarabæus in the place of a human head,[3] and a third he takes the land of North.[4] The old worship is evidently established in all its fulness during his reign, the Sun Gods are especially revered, and a high and honourable place is assigned to Set. Rameses's regard for Set is especially indicated by the name that he gave to his eldest son, which was Seti, or more fully, Seti Meneptah, , i.e. 'the Set worshipper,[5] beloved of Ptahuh.'[6]

The dangers which had threatened Egypt under Rameses, and which had been checked by his prompt invasion of Western Asia, revived under his son. Seti was scarcely settled upon the throne, when he found himself menaced upon his north-eastern frontier by a formidable confederation of Semitic with Turanian races, which looked ill for the tranquillity of his kingdom. The nations of Thebes, who, a century earlier, had bowed their pride before the might of Thothmes III.,[7] bravely recovered themselves in the hour of Egypt's weakness, were now at the zenith of their greatness, held all Syria firmly in their grasp, and are even believed by some to have extended their dominion into

[1] *Denkmäler*, iii. pl. 124.
[2] Ibid. pl. 126.
[3] Ibid. pl. 125 *a*.
[4] Ibid.
[5] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. [illegible].
[6] See above, p. 228.

Mesopotamia and Asia Minor.[1] Whatever may be thought of the list of his enlarged dominion, or of its definite assignment to this particular period, the Hittite power *in Syria* at this time is beyond all question; and Seti's attention was, by the necessity of the case, first turned in this direction, where he felt that the state of affairs called for a great and sustained effort. The nearest danger was from the Shasu, who had pressed forward westward quite into the proper Egyptian territory,[2] and made themselves masters of a considerable portion of the Jaffa canton. Seti, in the first year of his reign,[3] proceeded against these aggressors. Starting from the fortress of Kaituna—the Khan of Scripture[4]—mounted himself in his war-chariot, and accompanied by a large chariot force, he marched along the coast road as far as the 'land of Zaul,' or the Philistine country, when he turned inland, overran the tract known in later times as Idumæa, took various fortresses, and ruthlessly slaughtered their garrisons, raging, as he himself tells us, 'like a fierce lion,'[5] and wading through a sea of carnage. 'The Shasu were turned into a heap of corpses in their hill country—they lay there on their backs.'[6] The entire region between Egypt Proper and Canaan was subjected, the names of the strongholds were changed,[7] and Egyptian troops were placed in them.

A severe fight followed against the Khamthenrus, who had lent some assistance to the Shasu in the recent

[1] Lenormant, *Manual of History*, vol. i. p. 300; Rogers, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 344; Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 411 *et seq.*

[2] See the inscription quoted by Rogers, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 345, *et seq.*

[3] Inscription of Nauri, line 1.

[4] Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 411; Petrie, *Tanis*, part ii. *Nebesheh (Am) and Defenneh (Tahpanhes)*, p. 4.

[5] Rogers, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 345.

[6] Breasted, *History of Egypt*, p. 411.

[7] Petrie, *Tanis*, part ii. p. 5.

struggle.[1] A battle was fought with this enemy at Jahaa Jennata, in which both sides brought a large force of chariots into the field. The Khita were defeated in the engagement; and Seti boasts that he 'annihilated the kings of the land of the Syrians.'[2]

The defeat of the Khita had Northern Syria open to invasion; and Seti was able now to march against his principal enemy, Maut-enar, king of the Hittites, who held in subjection all the tribes from Central Palestine to the Euphrates. He proceeded first against the Ruten,[3] overcame them in several pitched battles, and, assisted by a son who fought constantly by his side,[4] slaughtered them almost to extermination.

His victorious progress brought him, after a time, to the vicinity of Kadesh—the important city on the Orontes which, a century earlier, had been besieged and taken by the great Thothmes.[5] Kadesh seems now to have belonged to the nation of the Amorites, which occupied at different times various parts of Syria and Palestine.[6] This nation was at present included among the subjects of the Hittites, and held Kadesh as their uppermost place. It would seem from one of Seti's bas-reliefs, that he had the skill, or the good fortune, to surprise this stronghold, and to become master of it by a *coup de main*. The arrival of the Egyptian army is represented as unexpected; the

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 11, 1st ed. Compare the *Inscriptions* pl. [illegible] p. 1, l. 6.

Brugsch [illegible] *Inscriptions of Seti at Abydos* [illegible] line.

[2] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 165.

[3] Brugsch, [illegible]

[4] [illegible] p. 27.

[5] See the article on the Amorites in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. i. pp. 61 [illegible] their occupation of Kadesh at this period, see Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 15, 1st ed.

herdsmen are pasturing their cattle under the trees which surround the city, when the Egyptian monarch upcomes in his war-chariot. At once every one seeks to save himself, the herds fly with their keepers: there is a general panic and confusion. But the defenders of the town are no cowards; they sally forth from the gates, and engage the army of the invader, but are defeated with great slaughter by the warlike Pharaoh, who pierces scores of them with his arrows.[1] An attack is then made upon the fortress, which is but weakly defended, and city and people fall into the hands of Seti.

The proper territory of the Khita was now reached and invaded, and although 'the well ordered hosts of the beardless light-red Khita, on foot, on horseback, and in chariots,'[2] gave battle to the invaders in the open field, and offered a gallant and stout resistance to the host of the Egyptians, yet here once more Seti was successful, and defeated the enemy with great slaughter, driving their squadrons before him in headlong flight, and killing a vast number of the leaders. A sculpture shows us 'the miserable inhabitants of the land of the Khita' receiving from Seti this 'great overthrow.'[3] A song of praise was composed for the occasion, which is appended to the sculpture, and runs as follows:[4]

'Pharaoh is a jackal which rushes leaping through the Hittite land; he is a grim lion which frequents the most hidden paths of all regions; he is a powerful bull with a pair of sharpened horns. He has struck down

[1] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 127 a; Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 17 (ed. 1).

[2] Brugsch, l.c.

[3] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 130 a.

[4] I follow the translation of Dr. Brugsch (see his *History*, vol. i. p. 8). Dr. Lushington has given a somewhat different version in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. v. p. 510.

the Asiatics, he has thrown to the ground the Kh ta; he has slain their princes.'

The victory thus gained was followed by a treaty of peace. Seti and his great adversary, Mautenar, entered into a solemn agreement, by which 'enmity was turned to friendship,'[1] perpetual amity and good brotherhood being proclaimed between the two nations.[2] Seti then set out upon his return to Egypt. Carrying with him some scores of captured chiefs,[3] and with the heads of three leading rebels attached to the lower portion of his chariot,[4] he proceeded, amid the pomp of a triumph, through Syria and Palestine, everywhere receiving the submission and homage of the inhabitants. On his way down the broad Cœle-Syrian valley, seeing the forests of Lebanon on his right hand, and noticing the vast size and especially the great height of the cedars, he ordered a halt, and called upon the headmen of the hill tribes to set to work and fell the straightest and tallest of the trees, that he might take them with him to Egypt.[5] Assyrian monarchs at a later date acted similarly.[6] The Lebanon timber was especially suited for the fabrication of those lofty masts which were commonly placed in front of the propylæa of temples, and the delicately-scented cedar wood was thought peculiarly fitted for the material of the 'Sacred Boat of Ammon,' which played an important part in the Theban religious processions.[7] Seti, having seen his orders executed,[8] in a short time

[1] Brugsch, *loc. cit.*

[2] See the *Records of the Past*, vol. ix. pp. 38 ff.

[3] Sixty-five are represented in one bas-relief (*Denkmäler*, pl. iii. pp. 129).

[4] Ibid. pl. iii. pl. 128 *a*.

[5] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 67; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 114; *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i. p. 127 note [2]; Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon* p. 644.

[6] Brugsch, *loc. cit.*

[7] See Rawlinson, *Monarchies of the East*, pl. 46.

resumed his march, and, passing through the desert, returned, by way of Maktal (Megiddo or Magdolon), Tsa-ru-ma-na (Zeredathah), and Gaza (Heroopolis?), to his own country.[1]

The defeat of the Hittites appears to have involved the recovery of Mesopotamia, or, at any rate, of some portion of it. Seti, in giving an account of his expedition, declares that he "had smitten the Anu and struck to the ground the Menu, and had placed his boundaries at the extremity of the world, and at the utmost borders of the river-land of Naharaina."[2] In his list of the conquered countries, Naharaina occupies a prominent place,[3] and one of its chiefs is represented among the prisoners whom he presents to Amen-ra, Mut, and Khonsu, on the auspicious occasion of his return.[4] As, however, no Egyptian remains of his date have been as yet discovered in Mesopotamia, it would seem to be doubtful whether he really occupied it, or did more than obtain from some of the chiefs a nominal submission.

Besides his great wars on the continent of Asia, Seti conducted important military operations both in the West and in the South. On the western borders of Egypt, in the vicinity of the Mediterranean, the blue-eyed, fair-skinned nation of the Tahennu,[5] , had from time to time given trouble to the Egyptians by their raids into the Delta, and expeditions had been undertaken against them by several of the more warlike

[1] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 115. See the inscription of Seti I. at Karnak. The Khita are also by Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 177. Cf. also *Transactions of Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. v. p. 518.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 3, vol. ii. p. 20. The Khita are placed first, Naharaina second.

[3] *Denkmäler*, pl. 136, pl. 127 *b*.

[4] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 3, vol. ii. p. 20.

kings.[1] They were a wild and uncivilised people, dwelling in caves, and having no other arms than bows and arrows. 'For dress they wore a long cloak or mantle open in front;'[2] and they are distinguished on the Egyptian monuments by having all their hair shaved except one large lock, which is plaited and depends from the right side of the head.[3] Each warrior wore also two ostrich feathers, sloping at opposite angles, and fastened on his head at the top of the crown. Seti, accompanied by his more famous son, Rameses,[4] invaded the country of this people with an infantry and chariot force, utterly routed them in a pitched battle, and drove them to seek shelter in their caves, where they 'remained hidden through fear of the king.'[5] It has been supposed that these caves must have been 'in the Atlas range;'[6] but there were Troglodytes in many parts of Africa much nearer to Egypt,[7] and the country about Cyrene would afford every facility for such underground abodes as are here indicated.

War was also waged under the auspices of Seti against the Cushites of the south, who had once more shown themselves troublesome, and memorials of victory were set up at Ibsâmbul and Sesebi. At the latter place Seti is made to boast that his dominion reaches southward 'to the arms of the Winds,'[8] as if it extended as far as Africa was inhabited. The wars in

[1] As previously by Amenophis II. (supra, p. 280).

[2] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 57.

[3] Birch, Inc., Brugsch, *History of Egypt* (see Chapter Herod. ii. 91), where a specimen of this kind is engraved from a monument in the Museum of Boulak.

[4] Rameses, *Man Stories*, p. 60.

[5] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 300.

[6] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 117.

[7] Herod. ii. 32; Strabo, xvii. 4, § 17; xvi. 4, § 5.

[8] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 56. Compare the story told by Herodotus of the Psamm who went out to war against the South Wind (ii. 173).

this quartet were probably not conducted by the king in person, but by the high officials who bore the title of 'Royal's sons of Cush,' of whom two are mentioned at this period, named respectively Ani and Amenemapet.[1]

But the military triumphs of Seti were outdone and eclipsed by his great works. The grand 'Hall of Columns' in the temple of Karnak—the chief glory of that magnificent edifice—which is supported by a hundred and sixty-four massive stone pillars, and covers a larger area than the Cathedral of Cologne,[2] was designed in its entirety, and for the most part constructed, by him, and, if it had stood alone, would have sufficed to place him in the first rank of builders. It is a masterpiece of the highest class, so vast as to overwhelm the mind of the spectator, so nobly ornamented as to excite his astonishment and admiration, so beautifully proportioned as to satisfy the requirements of the most critical taste, so entirely in harmony with its surroundings as to please even the most ignorant. Egyptian and oriental power culminated in this wonderful edifice—its supreme effort—its crown and pride—its greatest and grandest achievement—and it only remained for later ages to reproduce feeble copies of the marvellous work of Seti, or to escape comparison by accomplishing works of an entirely different description. The 'Hall of Columns' at Karnak is not only the most sublime and beautiful of all the edifices there grouped together so as to form one vast sanctified temple, but it is the highest effort of Egyptian architectural genius, and is among

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 80.

[2] See above, vol. i. pp. 295-7.

the eight or ten most splendid of all known architectural constructions.

One might have expected that so great a work would entirely occupy the mind, and monopolise the resources, of its erector, so as to leave him neither thought nor means for other constructive efforts. But it was not so with Seti. Besides his Karnak building, he designed and commenced the striking Temple of the Ramesseum[1] at Old Qurnah, opposite Thebes, in honour of his father, Rameses I.; he built a magnificent fane, in honour of Osiris, near Abydos,[2] he "erected a special temple to the goddess of the South, the heavenly Nukteb, at El Kaab, and another similar one, in the form of a rock grotto, at the place called by the Greeks 'the Cave of Artemis,'[3] near Beni el-Hassan, to Sekhet; he built also a temple at Redesieh,[4] made additions to the ancient shrines of Phthah and Tum at Memphis and Heliopolis,[5] erected at the last-named place the (so-called) Flaminian obelisk, which now adorns the Piazza del Popolo at Rome,[6] set up stelæ at Silsilis and Assouan[7] (Syene); and left inscriptions upon tablets at Dosheh, Soseh, and elsewhere.[8] Above all, he constructed for himself a most magnificent and elaborate tomb. This excavation in the solid rock, known as "Belzoni's tomb" from the name of its discoverer, still "forms the chief attraction to all who visit the Valley of the Tomb of the Kings at Thebes,"[9] and is one of the most magnificent of Egyptian sepul-

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 27.
[2] Ibid. p. 28.
[3] Ibid.
[4] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 118.
[5] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, l. s. c.
[6] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 118.
[7] Ibid.
[8] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 25.
[9] Ibid. p. 26. Compare Wilkinson in the "Rawlinson Herodotus," vol. ii. p. 300, 2nd ed.

chres. The lavish profusion of the painted sculptures, and the exquisite care with which everything, down to the minutest hieroglyph, is finished,[1] excite the admiration of the beholders; while the mystic character of the scenes represented,[2] and the astronomical problems involved in the roof-pictures of the 'Golden Chamber,'[3] add an element of deeper interest than any comprised within the range of mere art. The tomb possesses also a mythological inscription which is exceedingly curious.[4] In the eyes of its constructor the tomb was not wholly finished, the intention of prolonging it by digging still further into the rock being apparent;[5] but such it remained, when first discovered, the alabaster sarcophagus which the king had prepared for the reception of his mortal remains, a remarkable relic of antiquity now deposited in the Soane Museum of London.[6] Altogether, Seti's tomb, if not the most extensive, is far the most interesting and most beautiful of all those wonderful rock-sepulchres which form so important a portion of the extant Egyptian monuments.

Other important works were undertaken by this great monarch, with utility, rather than ostentation, for their object. In connection with the working of the gold mines in the desert between the Nile valley and the Red Sea, he employed engineers to discover a water-source which should furnish a constant and copious supply to the miners and those employed in

[1] Hengsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 20.

[2] See the *Description*, pl. iii. pls. 33–41.

[3] Ibid. pl. 37.

[4] See a paper by M. Edouard Naville in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. vi. pp. 1–10, and compare the *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. pp. 105–112.

[5] Wilkinson in the notes to *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 380, note 3; Birch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 52.

[6] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 116.

the carriage of the ores.[1] It has been maintained that to Seti the men entrusted with the task accomplished it by boring a veritable 'artesian well';[2] but there seems to be no better foundation for this theory than the use of certain rhetorical expressions by the historiographer who placed the facts on record. 'Seti,' he observed,[3] 'had but to say the word, and lo! the water leaped forth from the living rock—the stream flowed out in abundance.' Clearly, this result, or at any rate a result capable of being thus described by a lively writer, might follow on the discovery of an aquifer spring by means of ordinary digging, without recourse being had to the scientific and comparatively modern operation of boring. We are certainly not justified in concluding from the expressions used that 'artesian wells' were familiar to the engineering science of Seti's day, or that he did more than 'happen upon' a copious source at a certain depth below the surface, in a district where there was no surface water in the shape of streams or springs.

Seti also, it is thought,[4] commenced that far more important work, afterwards accomplished by his still greater son, the formation of a canal between the most eastern branch of the Nile and the Red Sea. This canal left the Nile a little above the town of Bubastis, and ran east, or a little south of east, as far as the Bitter Lakes, when it changed its direction, and was carried nearly due south into the Gulf of Suez. The length of the canal, not counting the passage of the Bitter Lakes, was about seventy miles. Its course may

[1] Thirlwall, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 115; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 81.

[2] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 403.

[3] 'Seti ... accomplished a work which ... no king had ever accomplished before.' Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 117.

[4] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 117; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 403.

still be traced by a series of depressions along the line of the Wady Toumilat.[1]

The inscriptions of Seti are chiefly accounts of his campaigns and of the offerings which he made out of the spoils of the conquered nations to Ammon and the other national gods. But they comprise one document of more than ordinary historical interest. This is the 'Great Table of Abydos,' containing the names of seventy-five of his predecessors[2] upon the throne of Egypt, arranged in (supposed) chronological order, which he set up in the temple that he dedicated, in the desert near that city, to Osiris, the god of the dead. The list commences with Menes (Mena), the mythic founder of the empire, and is carried on through the monarchs mentioned in the text of the present work[3] to Neferirkara, the last known king of the sixth dynasty, after which it enumerates eighteen unknown monarchs,[4] who are supposed to have belonged to the sixth and eleventh dynasties, returning with the fifty-seventh name to a well-known personage, Nebkheperra or Mentuhotep II.,[5] and then following with Sankhkara the Amenemhats and Usurtesens of the twelfth dynasty, the three kings of the eighteenth, and Rameses I., the founder of the nineteenth, Seti's father. The resemblances and the differences between this list and that of Thothmes III.[6] deserve careful attention, inasmuch as they do, to a certain settled basis of history beforehand at the time, combined with a large discretionary element of tradition or conjecture, and thereby touching us the

[1] See Hayter, *Egypt and the Great Suez Canal*, p. 4.

[2] I have given the number as seventy-seven (supra, p. 250), but the number varies, owing to omissions in the names and cartouches of Seti himself and his son, Rameses II., which are also represented.

[3] See pp. 20, 40, 77, and 98.

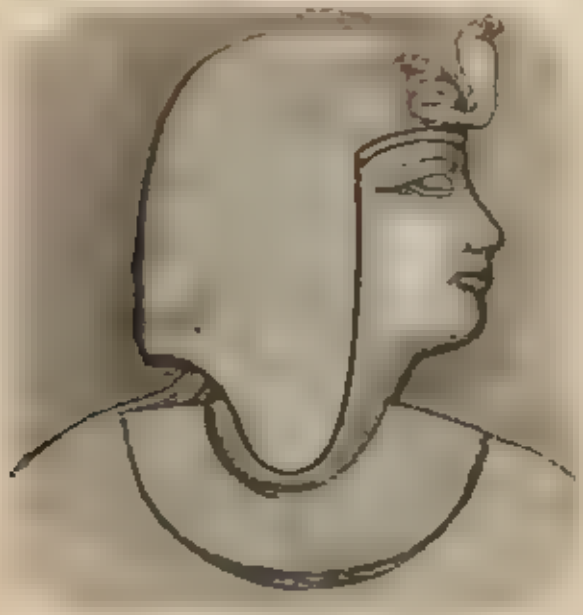
[4] The names are given in Brugsch's *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 149, vol. ii. p. 3 (2nd ed.).

[5] Supra, p. 150.

[6] See above, p. 230.

extreme uncertainty of the mere dynastic lists where they are not checked and confirmed by contemporary fuller documents.

In personal appearance Seti seems not to have been remarkable. He had a fairly good forehead, a rounded depressed nose, full projecting lips, and a heavy chin



Head of Seti I.

The expression of his face was calm open, and not unpleasing. In character he resembled the other Egyptian conquering monarchs, being vigorous, bold, unsparing of himself, indefatigable, but ruthless and cruel. It is difficult to decide whether his religious ardour was a genuine feeling or the result of policy in order to secure him the gratitude and support of the priestly class, a support always of great importance to the early princes of a dynasty not yet fully recognised as in

rightful possession of the throne. Certainly no Pharaoh ever showed himself more anxious to uphold the entire Egyptian religion, or more liberal in paying honour to all the chief personages of the Pantheon. His material favours were freely granted to all the main national shrines, and in his bas-reliefs he exhibited himself as the worshipper of almost every generally recognised deity. Nor does any divinity receive from Seti an undue share of attention. Ammon-Ra, Horus, Isis, Osiris, and Athor are, so to speak, his favourites, but Egypt at this time was tolerably unanimous in assigning to these gods a pre-eminence. After these five, he honours almost equally Set, Ra, Thot, Menthu, Num, Sebi, Netpe, Nephthys, Thoth, Satak, Ma, Maut, Khonsu, Thtur, Khem, Kneph Sati, and Anuka.[1]

In his domestic relations he appears to have been fortunate. He married a wife, Tua or Tuan, [illegible] who is thought to have been a granddaughter of Khuenaten or Amenophis IV,[2] and to have thus brought a further strain of semitic blood into the Egyptian royal house. Tua bore him at least three sons, of whom his successor, Rameses Mermammon, was the eldest. This prince, like our own Henry VIII, united the rival pretensions of two great rival houses—the Amenhepsus and the Ramesides—and it was therefore of importance that he should be brought forward into political life at the earliest possible moment, since the general acceptance, of which he was assured, would add stability to the throne of his father. Accordingly,

[1] See the *Inscriptions* passim. The Ma Sabak and Ma Tawen, [illegible] Amenhepsus IV's principal [illegible] Horus and Isis five [illegible] Horus, Osiris and Athor four, Set, [illegible] number seven.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. [illegible] p. 50.

at the age of ten or twelve,[1] Seti had him crowned as king, and admitted him, at first to a nominal, and afterwards to a real, participation in the government.[2] The two appear to have borne each other a true affection, no jealousy clouded their relations; each speaks of the other with tenderness and real regard; and the son carries on with pious care all the great works left incomplete by the father.

The chronology of the two reigns has been confused and complicated by the fact of the association. It is uncertain in what year of his reign Seti made Rameses joint ruler,[3] and still more uncertain how long the joint reign continued. Seti's thirtieth and Rameses sixty-seventh year are mentioned upon the monuments,[4] which also tell us that Rameses was ten years old when he was associated. These are all the trustworthy data,[5] and it results from them that the probable period occupied by the two reigns was about eighty years; Seti reigning twelve years alone, and an unknown number, not less than eighteen, in conjunction with

[1] An inscription quoted by Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 241) says that Seti raised to be a governor of the land when the latter was a youth not exceeding ten full years. But Brugsch himself thinks that when Rameses II. ascended the throne he must have been about twelve years old, or a little more (vol. i. p. 251).

[2] At first Rameses says he was "chief in the house of the mansions of the two companions, after he entered the chamber of the palace" (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 241). But it was not long ere a public function was assigned him. (See next page, note 1).

[3] He would no doubt do so as early as possible. If he married Isis soon after his accession and she bore him Rameses in the course of the next year, he may have associated that prince as early as his eighth year.

[4] Lepsius, *Monum. of History*, Rameses, vol. i. p. 42; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 15, Eng. trans. (*Great Kings*, p. 12).

[5] Manetho's text merely says that Seti reigned fifty-one years. He may (see Syncellus, *Chronograph.*, p. 74, a, and Eusebius, II. exxiv. one or sixty-six years (Cory, p. 99), but little weight. He may, however, have been rightly informed with regard to Rameses.

Rameses, while the latter reigned as sole monarch for a long term of years after his father's death.

The full title under which the son and successor of Seti I. designated himself upon his monuments was Ra user-ma Setep en Ra Rameses Meriamen,[1] , thus elaborate and conspicuous, had by this time become the royal designation. Succeeding to the throne, in a certain sense, at the age of ten, he became early accustomed to command, took part in the business of the state, had a body guard under his orders, and directed the construction of important buildings.[2] As his father grew old and infirm, the conduct of affairs passed more and more into his hands, until at last—probably when he was about twenty-eight years old—he entered upon the full sovereignty.

The greatest son of a great father, Rameses II. is of all the Egyptian kings the one whose fame has extended itself the most widely, and whose actions have received the largest amount of attention. This has arisen, in part, from the enormous number and striking character of his monuments, in part, from the favour in which he was held by the Egyptian priests and the exaggerated representations which they gave of his warlike achievements.[3] In reality, he does not appear to have shown any remarkable military genius, or to have effected any important conquests. That great warrior and hero, for

[1] See Chabas, *Recherches*, &c., p. 70, and compare Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, Taf. xxxi. No. 420. The names were spelt in a vast variety of ways, as may be seen in the accompanying woodcut, Tafels xxxii and xxxii.

[2] See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 24.

[3] In proof of this, see especially Todt. de Il. lib. ii. The number of conquests assigned to Rameses II. by the inscriptions is not to be trusted.

many years; and, though in the course of it he no doubt performed several brilliant exploits, yet the final result was one of which Egypt had no cause to boast. The empire attacked stood firm, and the war was concluded by a treaty, of which the great principle is the exact equality and perfect correspondence of obligations of the two contracting powers.[1] The other wars which he occasionally undertook were trivial, and there is no evidence that even they brought any accession of territory to Egypt. Indeed, it would almost seem that his object in making war was rather to obtain captives than to extend his dominions, his predominant desire being to distinguish himself as a builder, and the services of vast bodies of foreign labourers being necessary to carry out his numerous and gigantic projects.[2]

The first campaigns of Rameses II were directed against the negroes and Ethiopians.[3] One writer[4] tells us that he 'pushed his arms much further into Upper Ethiopia and the Soudan than any of his predecessors;' but proof of this superior energy is scarcely forthcoming, and on the whole it would seem that the southern expeditions of the son of Seti were rather razzias, resulting in the capture of large numbers of the unfortunate blacks, than real military operations.[5] Besides slaves, tribute and plunder were no doubt obtained in large quantities; and Egypt was enriched by the spoils of Ethiopia, which included gold, ivory, ebony, fruits of various kinds, leopard's skins, lions, panthers, gazelles and other antelopes, giraffes, and ostriches.[6]

Soon afterwards occurred the first Syrian war of

[1] See below, p. 310.
[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 106–7.
[3] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 110.
[4] Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 312 2nd ed.
[5] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 76.
[6] Ibid. p. 77. Compare Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 120.

Ramesses. The details of this campaign are wanting, but a rock-tablet at the Nahr-el-Kelb, set up in his second year, indicates his personal presence on the occasion, and was erected as a token of victory. Three years later took place the second invasion. Khitasir, the son of Maursar, and grandson of Sapalel, the adversary of Rameses I., was now probably at the head of the Hittites,[3] and had succeeded in effecting a league of the Western Asiatic nations against Egypt, which threatened serious consequences. Already had Seti, alarmed at the menacing combination, commenced a defensive work upon his eastern frontier,[4] probably not long before his decease. Rameses, with the ardour and audacity of youth, preferring attack to defence, in the fifth year of his sole reign[5] collected a vast army, and quitting Egypt marched 'by the path of the desert along the roads of the north.'[6] Khitasir, aware of his movements, summoned his allies to his aid—the peoples of Naharaina, Kirmabo, Carchemish, the Masu, Arantu, Patusu, Kati, Leka (Lycians?), and others[8]—and took up a position near Kadesh, his capital city, which was situated on an island in the Orontes.[7] The host was so numerous that it is said 'Their number was endless; nothing like it had ever been before, they covered the mountains and the valleys like grass-

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 83, 1st ed.

[2] See *Records of the Past*, vol. i. p. 28. Rameses does not give the name of his adversary in the great Hittite war, and it is quite likely that Khitasir had not yet succeeded the Heta.

[3] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 125.

[4] Ibid., l.c. Compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 80, 1st ed.

[5] See the 'Poem of Pentaur,' as given by Dr. Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 84, 1st ed.).

[6] *Records of the Past*, vol. i. p. 39. The Masu are supposed to be the people to whom Manetho gives the name of Arabians (see Part I. sect. xxiv. note 2), and the Patusu may perhaps be the Assyrian Patsan. The Lekas are thought by Dr. Brugsch to be the Lycians, but this is probably doubtful on philological grounds, the present name of Aleppo.

[7] See above, p. 252.

hoppers for their number.'[1] Khitasir, however, was unwilling to trust to mere numbers, and formed a scheme for deceiving Rameses as to the disposition of his troops, and so bringing him into difficulties. He sent out spies,[2] who pretended to be deserters from his army, and instructed them to say, if they were questioned, that he had broken up from Kadesh on hearing of the Egyptian advance, and had marched away to Khirabu (Aleppo), which lay far to the north. The spies fulfilled their mission, but on being examined by scourging they found it fortunate, and confessed the truth that Khitasir, instead of having withdrawn to Khirabu, was lying in wait to the north-west of Kadesh, hoping to fall unexpectedly on the flank of the Egyptians, if they believed the spies' tale and hurried forward on the line of his supposed retreat. Foiled in his crafty scheme, Khitasir could do nothing but quit his ambush and march openly against the Egyptians, with his troops marshalled in exact and orderly array, the Hittite chariots in front with their lines carefully dressed, and the auxiliaries and irregulars on the flanks and rear.[3] Rameses had divided his host into four portions.[4] He himself, with the brigade of Ammon, marched down the left bank of the river, while two brigades, those of Phthah and Re, proceeded along the right bank, the division of Phthah in the centre, that of Re some way to the eastward.[5] The

[1] See the 'Poem of Pentaur' (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, etc.).

[2] The story of the spies is told in an account which purports to be translated from the work of Hittite writers by Abichar and translated by Dr. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 50-2 (et al.).

[3] Ibid. p. 47.

[4] *Records of the Past*, vol. i. p. 81, etc.

[5] Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 58, et al. In accordance with the 'battle of Kadesh,' I have throughout followed the authority of Dr. Birch (who takes a somewhat different view of the arrangement) (*Ancient Egypt*, pp. 120 ff.).

position of the brigade of Set is not distinctly marked. It may have started for Khimbu before the falsity of the spies' tale was detected, or it may have acted as a rearguard to the whole army, and have been posted at some distance behind the other corps. At any rate, it took no part in the battle. Khitasir commenced the fight by a flank movement to the left, which enabled him to fall on the brigade of Ra as it was upon its march, alone and unsupported. His attack was unexpected and was irresistible; 'foot and horse gave way before him,'[1] the division was utterly routed, and either driven from the field or cut to pieces. Intelligence of the complete defeat of his right wing having been received by Rameses, who had now reached the post on occupied at the beginning of the day by Khitasir, he set his brigade in motion, at right angles to their previous course, eastward, but before he could reach the Orontes, the enemy, who must have crossed the river, were upon him, and the two hosts charged each other at full speed with desperate courage. The chariot of Rameses, skilfully guided by his squire, Menna, seems to have broken through the front line of the Hittite chariot force; but his brethren in arms were less fortunate; and Rameses found himself separated from his army, behind the front line and confronted by the second line of the hostile chariots, in a position of the greatest possible danger.[2] Then began that Homeric combat, which the Egyptians were never tired of celebrating, between a single warrior on the one hand, and the host of the Hittites, reckoned at 2,500

[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 68, l. 4.

[2] This seems to me the only reasonable account of the position in which Rameses found himself, but it must be confessed that Pentaur's narrative is here very hazy.

chariots, on the other, in which Rameses, like Diomed or Achilles, carried death and destruction whithersoever he turned himself. 'I became like the god Month,' he is made to say; 'I hurled the dart with my right hand; I fought with my left hand, I was like Baal in his time before their sight; I had come upon 2,500 pairs of horses, I was in the midst of them, but they were dashed in pieces before my steeds. Not one of them raised his hand to fight; their courage was sunken in their breasts; their limbs gave way, they could not hurl the dart, nor had they strength to thrust with the spear. I made them fall into the waters like crocodiles; they tumbled down on their faces one after another. I killed them at my pleasure, so that not one looked back behind him, nor did any turn round. Each fell, and none raised himself up again.'[1]

The temporary isolation of Rameses, which is the gist of the heroic poem of Pentaour, and which the king himself recorded over and over again upon the walls of his magnificent shrines,[2] must no doubt be regarded as a fact, but it is not likely to have continued for more than a few minutes. When his companions found that he was lost to their sight, they would have made the most frantic efforts to recover him, dead or alive; and if his own prowess at all resembled the description given of it, the Hittites must have been speedily thrown into such confusion that it would have been easy for the Egyptians to come to his aid. Chariot, no doubt, quickly followed chariot through the front line of the Hittite force, the second line was

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, Ancient, vol. i. p. 411; Brugsch, vol. ii. p. 57, 1st ed. *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 45, 1st ed.

[2] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire*

engaged and defeated, soon the confusion became general. A headlong flight carried the entire host to the banks of the Orontes, into which some precipitated themselves, while others were forced into the water by their pursuers. The king of Kheta was among the latter, and was with difficulty drawn out by his friends, exhausted and half dead, when he reached the eastern shore.[1] But the great bulk of the Hittite army perished, either in the battle or in the river. Among the killed and wounded were Grebatussa, the charioteer of his master, Tarakennas, the commander of the cavalry, Rabsura, another general, Kinapusar, a royal secretary, and Matsurama, a brother of the Hittite king.[2]

On the day which followed the battle Khetasir sent a humble embassy to the camp of his adversary to implore for peace.[3] His messenger was received with favour. Though it does not appear that any formal treaty was made, or any definite engagements entered into by the Hittite leader, yet Rameses consented not to press upon the vanquished monarch, but to withdraw his army and return to Egypt. It is possible that his victory had cost him dear, and that, until he had levied a new force, he was in no condition to venture further from his resources or to affront new perils.

The Syrian expeditions of Rameses II. did not terminate with the battle of Kadesh, or with his fifth year. On the contrary, they continued certainly till his eighth year,[4] and possibly till his twenty first,

[1] See the *Poëmbalder*, pl. 61 *bis*, lines 101 and 102. Compare Goodwin's *History of Egypt* in Smith's *Dict.*, 1st ed.

[2] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 121.

[3] See the "Poem of Pentaour" in Brugsch's *History*, vol. i. pp. 261, 1st ed. According to this writer there was a short cessation of the battle on the morrow, or rather a suspension of the hostilities after which Khetasir, at the request of his enemy, sent the embassy.

[4] Compare *History of Egypt* vol. ii. p. 64, 3rd ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 122.

when a formal treaty of peace was concluded with the Hittites. It is difficult to determine how far during this period he carried his arms into Asia, or what extent of territory he traversed with his armies. We have no distinct evidence of any expeditions having penetrated further northward than Northern Palestine,[1] unless it be on one occasion, when 'Tunip in the land of Naharaim,' was attacked and taken.[2] But the reputation which Rameses left behind him of a warrior king,[3] the title of Arekhtai or 'Conqueror' which he bore,[4] and the general claims to victory and success contained in his inscriptions, are thought to imply that the limits of the Egyptian power established by Thothmes III were still in a certain sense maintained and vindicated during his reign,[5] Mesopotamia still paying tribute, and receiving Egyptian residents if not even Egyptian garrisons, and the chiefs even of such a distant place as Singara being still content to be regarded as Egyptian subjects.[6] But, whatever vestiges remained of the old period of glory and dominion, it cannot be seriously doubted that the real power of Egypt had now considerably declined.[7] 'The bonds of subjection were much less strict than under Thothmes III.; prudential motives constrained the Egyptians to be content with very much less—with such acknow-

[1] The places attacked and taken in the eighth year are Senaar (Shinar), in the Jordan valley, near Jericho, Dapur at the foot of Mount Tabor, Shamuna or Marom Beth Anath. Ye Anaukhan troubled, and was reduced at the same time.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 63, 64, 1st ed.

[3] Ebers, *Aegypten*, ii. 180.

[4] Brugsch, *History of Egypt* under the Pharaohs, vol. ii. p. 83, 1st ed.

[5] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 121.

[6] Brugsch, *History of Egypt* under the Pharaohs, vol. ii. p. 83, 1st ed. The representation of Singara as a town in Mesopotamia is supported by Lieblein, *Dictionnaire de noms hiéroglyphiques*, No. 1,048, but it may be the modern Sinjar. Though there can be no doubt that it was in Mesopotamia.

[7] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 120.

ledgments as satisfied their vanity rather than with the exercise of true power.'[1]

The treaty concluded with the Hittites is a strong indication of the changed circumstances of Egypt, and her inability to maintain the dominant position which she had reached under Thothmes I. It was, as already observed,[2] based upon the principle of an exact equality between the two high contracting powers. Khitasir was termed 'the great king of Khita, the powerful,' Rameses 'the great ruler of Egypt, the powerful.' The genealogy of each was reckoned back to his grandfather. Both parties engaged reciprocally for their sons and their sons' sons. Friendship was pledged by the following formula: 'He shall be my ally; he shall be my friend; I will be his ally; I will be his friend for ever.' The stipulations of the alliance were throughout mutual. The king of the Khita engaged under no circumstances to invade the land of Egypt, and the king of Egypt engaged under no circumstances to invade the land of the Khita. Each bound himself, if the other were attacked, either to come in person, or to send his forces, to the other's assistance. Each pledged himself to the extradition both of criminals fleeing from justice, and of any other subjects wishing to transfer their allegiance. Each at the same time stipulated for an amnesty of offences in case of all persons thus surrendered. The treaty was placed under the protection of the gods of the two countries, who were invoked respectively to protect observers and punish infringers of it.[3]

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[1] Lenormant, *l.c.*

[2] *Supra*, p. 303.

[3] For a condensed account of the treaty, see *Records of the Past*, vol. v. pp. 27–32. The full text is given by Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 68–74, *et al.* It is a mistake, however, of this writer to

It is evident that the acknowledgment of the Hittite power and the engagements to respect its territorial limits and defend it against foreign attack constituted an effectual bar to the extension of Egyptian influence in Asia, and very nearly cut Egypt off from her possessions on and beyond the Euphrates. Little more than a nominal subjection of dependencies so remote could remain, when almost the whole of the intermediate country [1] was relinquished to a rival power. The Hittite empire must at this time have presented itself to the Mesopotamian and Syrian nations as that which was in the ascendant, and which policy required them to court. Egypt's day must have appeared to be past, and the smaller states of Western Asia must have begun to gravitate to the new centre.

A conspicuous evidence of the altered condition of things, strongly indicative of the great advance of the Hittite power, was the marriage of Rameses, in the thirty-fourth year of his sole reign, to the daughter of Khitasir, and her proclamation as queen consort by the name, which she must have newly taken, of Ur-maa-neferu-ra. 'The prince of Khita, clad in the dress of his country, himself conducted the bride to the palace of his son-in-law,' [2] and, after receiving hospitable entertainment, returned to his own land. It would seem that the princess had captivated the heart of the susceptible monarch by her remarkable beauty on an occasion when she had come forward in her own country to plead the cause of some captives

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ral the treaty an 'offensive and defensive alliance,' since union for offensive purposes is certainly not contemplated.

[1] The geographical position of the Hittite country cut off Egypt from Mesopotamia unless by the Lion of Damascus and Tadmor, which is only fitted to be a caravan route.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 76, 1st ed.

whom he was meaned to treat harshly. 'She stood forward at their head, to soften the heart of King Rameses—a great unconceivable wonder—not knowing the impression which her beauty made upon him.' The fascination of unconscious loveliness is always great, and Rameses was apparently induced to seek the hand of the Hittite princess by the feelings which were called forth on this occasion.

Besides his great Asiatic war, to which the Hittite treaty put a happy termination, Rameses conducted a certain number of campaigns in the south and in the east. In the south he had for enemies the Cushites and the negroes, in the west the Tahennu and the Mashoush or Maxyes.[2] In both quarters he claims successes; but they do not appear to have been very decisive. In Northern Africa the power of the Maxyes was certainly not broken, for we shall find them in the ensuing reign taking the offensive and invading Egypt in force,[3] and on the Upper Nile only small and insignificant tribes—the Aamam, the Hebau, the Iemta, the Temehu, and the Hetau[4]—were subjugated. The boundaries of Egypt received no important enlargement in either quarter, nor were her Asiatic losses compensated for by African gains.

One, and perhaps the main, result of all the military operations in which Rameses II employed himself for so many years, was the acquisition of many thousands of captives, some Asiatic, some African—swart negroes from the Soudan, Ethiopians of equal blackness but of a higher type, blue-eyed fair-haired Mashuasha,

[1] See the inscription given by Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 56 (1st ed.).

[2] On these people see Herod. iv. 191, and compare Hecat. fr. 304, and Steph. Byz. ad voc.

[3] Infra, pp. 850, 853.

[4] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 75, 1st ed.

light-red beardless Kheta, the Arabs, heavily-framed Retenu with black beards and features of a Jewish cast,[1] Kharu, Leka, Nahrin, Maxyes—carried off from their homes by the grasping conqueror, whose wars were undertaken as much with the object of making prisoners as from any higher consideration. During his early years Asia furnished the bulk of these unfortunates. Later, when his Asiatic wars were terminated—if we may trust M. Lenormant—'man-hunts were organised upon a monstrous scale throughout the whole country of the Soudan, a scale quite unknown at any former period. The aim was no longer, as under the Thothmeses and the Amenhoteps, to extend on this side the frontiers of the Egyptian empire, so as to absorb the countries which furnished ivory and gold dust. The principal or (so to speak) sole object was to obtain slaves. Nearly every year there were great razzias, which started from Ethiopia, and returned dragging after them thousands of captive blacks of all ages and both sexes, laden with chains. And the principal episodes of these negro-hunts were sculptured upon the walls of temples as glorious exploits!'[2]

In connection with this constant introduction of large bodies of foreigners into Egypt, Rameses devised or adopted the plan,[3] so familiar to Asiatic conquerors in later times, of transporting his prisoners enormous distances, and settling them in those portions of his empire which were most remote from their original abodes. While tribes of negroes were removed from

[1] See the frontispiece to Brugsch's *History*, vol. i. [illegible], where the cast of countenance is very noticeable.

[2] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. pp. 423-4.

[3] Lenormant says (*l.c.*) that he was the first to suggest the system, but I have already shown reason for thinking that he was anticipated in the adoption of it by his grandfather (*supra* p. 298.)

the Soudan into Asia; Libyans and Asiatics were planted upon the Upper Nile.[1] Flight and escape became in this way impossible, and even the yearning after a lost home tended, in course of time, to die away through the weakening influence of the human mind to accept the inevitable.

It was, of course, in connection with his passion for 'great works' that Rameses desired and obtained this vast addition to the store of 'naked human strength,'[2] which on his accession he inherited from his progenitors. In the earlier times the kings had employed the great mass of their subjects in those vast constructions by which they had striven to immortalise their names.[3] But with the growth of civilisation new ideas had sprung up. Some regard had come to be had for the feelings and the wishes of the 'lower orders,'[4] and if the shackles of forced labour still legally lay upon them,[5] practically it was now well-nigh a thing of the past, and no longer an actual grievance. Slaves, captives, and subject races, not of Egyptian blood, were at this period the material to which kings bent upon raising great works looked for the execution of their grand projects. Of subject races there seem to have been several in Egypt under Rameses, the principal being the Shardana or Sardana, the Aperiu or Aperu, and the Hebrews. Of these, the Shardana were employed principally as auxiliary troops,[6] while the other two—if they were really distinct[7]—formed the main

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 100. 1st ed. Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 151.

[2] Grote, *History of Greece*, ch. xxii. (vol. ii. p. 45, edit. of 1869).

[3] Supra, p. 51.

[4] See *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 11 f.; and compare above, pp. 140-7.

[5] As would appear by the letter of Amenemun to Pentaour, quoted above, vol. i. p. 481.

[6] *Transactions of Society of Bibl. Archæology*, vol. i. pp. 357, 359, and 367.

[7] This is a point on which much

sources from which forced labour was drawn by the monarchs.[1] We know that the Hebrews at the time of the Exodus numbered 600,000 adult males;[2] the Apuriu, if a distinct race, may have been not much less numerous: and it is a not unreasonable conjecture,[3] that in the time of Rameses II. the subject races and newly made captives together amounted to a full third of the population. Thus the Pharaoh had an abundant stock of raw material on which to draw, without putting any pressure on his native subjects, or even seriously affecting the general labour-market.

The great works of Rameses Meriamen may be divided under the two heads of works of utility and of ornament. To the former class belong his 'Great Wall,' his canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, and his numerous cities; to the latter, his temples, his colossal statues, his obelisks, and his tomb. The Great Wall, commenced by his father, Set,[4] extended from Pelusium to Heliopolis,[5] a direct distance of ninety miles, and was strengthened at intervals by the establishment of fortresses upon its line, the 'treasure cities,' or 'store cities,' mentioned in the book of Exodus as built by the oppressed Israelites, being, as is generally thought,[6] among their number. The construction of this work is a strong indication of the decline in her

has been written. M. Chabas regards the identity of the Apuriu with the Hebrews as certain (*Mélanges Egyptologiques*, 2. p. 145, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de la Haute Egypte*, pp. 181 *sqq.*). Dr. Brugsch (*Hist. of Egypt* vol. i. pp. 128 *sq.*, 1st ed.), Dr. Birch (*Transactions of Society of Bibl. Archæology*, vol. i. pp. 348–71) and M. Maspero are of the directly contrary opinion. Dr. Birch throws a doubt on the identification (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 128).

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. ii. p. 88, 1st ed. Ex. i. 11–14.

[2] Ex. xii. 37.

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 100, 1st ed.

[4] See above, p. 304.

[5] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 125.

[6] Ibid. Compare Ex. i. 11.

military power on which Egypt was now relying[1]—a decline which, in spite of a few exceptionally brilliant periods, must be considered to have set in from this reign.

The 'Great Canal' perhaps, like the 'Wall,' commenced by Seti[2] is proved by the ruins upon its banks to have been in the main the work of Rameses.[3] It was, moreover, provided with locks and sluices,[4] as was the canal which led the Nile water into the Fayoum; and in this way the difficulties connected with the changes at Suez and the variations in the level of the Nile at Bubastis were met and overcome. Presupposing perhaps kept the western end of the canal open, and prevented it from being silted up by the Nile mud, but when troubles came, this practice was neglected, and the channel soon became unnavigable. Communication with the Bitter Lakes had from time to time to be reopened, and Necos, Darius Hystaspis,[5] Ptolemy I., Trajan, and the Caliph Omar[6] are especially mentioned as having applied themselves to the work of reestablishing the waterway. Various points of departure from the course of the Nile were taken at different periods, the latest being at Bellavs, which is about eleven miles south of Bubastis (now Tel-Basta).

Among the cities built by Rameses II., or so enlarged as to be considered his work, were Tanis—the great city of the Hyksos—which he made his capital,[7] Pa Ramesu, which is probably the Rameses of

[1] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. pp. 178–8; Lenormant, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 228; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 1–4, 1st ed.

[2] See above, p. 207.

[3] Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 203, note [5], 2nd ed.

[4] Ibid. p. 206, note [4].

[5] Herod. iv. 39.

[6] See the essays of M. Rozière in the *Description de l'Egypte*, 1st quarto, vol. i. pp. 139–4.

Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 40 and 93, 1st ed.

Exodus, Pa-tum (Patumus or Pithom, identified by Dr Birch with Heroopolis); Pa-pehtah, at Gerf Hussein in Nubia, Pa-amanon at Sebua, in the same country, and Pa-ru, near Der or Dirr, above Korosko.[1] The new Tanis was situated at some little distance from the old one, where the shepherd kings had resided, and was adorned with numerous temples and obelisks, fragments of which still strew the site. A contemporary of the son of Seti thus describes the place.[2] 'So I arrived at the city of Ramesu Meriamen, and found it admirable, for nothing on the Theban land and soil can compare with it. Here is the seat of the court. The place is pleasant to live in; its fields are full of good things; and life here passes in constant plenty and abundance. The canals are rich in fish, the lakes swarm with birds; the meadows are green with vegetables; there is no end of the lentils, melons with a taste like honey grow in the irrigated gardens. The barns are full of wheat and durra, and reach as high as heaven. Onions and grapes grow in the enclosures, and the apple-tree blooms among them. The vine, the almond-tree, and the fig-tree are found in the orchards. . . . The red fish is common in the lotus-canal; the Bori-fish in the ponds, many varieties of the same, together with carp and pike [?], in the canal of Pa-kerotha, fat fish and Khipa-pehtah fish are to be found in the pools of the mountain, and the Hanaz-fish in the full mouth of the Nile, near the City of the Conqueror. The city canal Pshentaer produces salt, the lake region of Pahur natron. Sea-

[1] Brugsch pp. 70, 78-9, &c., Birch, *Ancient Empire* pp. 44-5.

[2] See the Letter of Pentaur,' translated by Mr Goodwin in the *Records of the Past*, vol. vi pp. 78, 9, and by Dr Brugsch in his *History of Egypt* vol. ii pp. 90-8, 1st ed.

going ships enter the harbour: plenty and abundance are perpetual.'

The most remarkable of the temples erected by Rameses are the building at Thebes, once called the Memnonium, but now commonly known as the Ramesseum (which has been already described in the first volume of this work),[1] and the extraordinary rock-temple of Ipsambul or Abu Simbel, the most magnificent specimen of its class which the world contains. The façade is formed by four huge colossi, each seventy feet in height, representing Rameses himself, seated on a throne, with the double crown of Egypt upon his head.[2] In the centre, flanked on either side by two of these gigantic figures, is a doorway of the usual Egyptian type, opening into a small vestibule, which communicates by a short passage with the main chamber. This is an oblong square, sixty feet long by forty-five, divided into a nave and two aisles by two rows of square piers with Osiride statues thirty feet high in front, and ornamented with painted sculptures over its whole surface.[3] The main chamber leads into an inner shrine, or adytum, supported by four piers without Osiride figures, but otherwise as richly adorned as the outer apartment. Behind the adytum are small rooms for the priests who served in the temple. It is the façade of the work which constitutes its main beauty. 'What shall we say,' observes a modern traveller,[4] 'of the rock-temple of Ipsambul, the won-

[1] See above, vol. i. pp. 220-1.

[2] For representations see the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 185 *b*, and Kitto's *Egypt and Arabia*, vol. i. vignette on title-page.

[3] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 185 *a* et seqq.

[4] Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 61-2, 1st ed. In his concluding remarks the writer appears to have forgotten that his own glory was, at any rate, the least thing sought by Rameses in his erection of this edifice. Four colossi of *himself* form the façade, and in the interior he associates himself as a god

derful façade of which surpasses everything which our imagination can conceive of grandeur in a human work? How small, how insignificant, appear, in comparison with it, the petty erections of our day! There, in Nubia, on a solitary wall of rock, far removed from the dwellings of men, in hoary antiquity a temple was hewn to the great gods of the land of Egypt . . . hewn as if by *enchantment*—for this is the proper word—so bold, so powerful, so exceeding all human measure, as if giants had turned the bare rock into a living work of art! Standing before this work, achieved by the hands of men, the thoughtful child of our modern age first feels the greatness of antiquity in its all-powerful might. It was not vanity, not calculation, not profit, nor luxury, but the most elevated feeling of gratitude to God, that caused such a work to be executed; a work worthy of and fit for the immortal, unconquerable, almighty Deity, to whom the whole earth ascribed its high veneration for the Everlasting and the Incomprehensible.' After this, the judgment of the learned historian of architecture may perhaps seem tame; but its sobriety gives it a weight which is scarcely accorded to the best assorted collection of rhetorical phrases by the modern reader. 'The largest of the rock-temples at Ipsamboul,' says Mr. Fergusson,[1] 'is *the finest of its class known to exist anywhere*. Externally, the façade is about a hundred feet in height, and adorned by four of the most magnificent colossi in Egypt, each seventy feet in height, and representing the king, Rameses II., who caused the exca-

with Ammon, Phthah, and Horus (*Denkmäler* pt. iii. pl. 190 c; Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 91, 1st ed.). We cannot ascribe to him any very elevated or intense religious feeling.

[1] *History of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 118, 1st ed.

vation to be made. It may be because they are more perfect than any other now found in that country, but certainly nothing can exceed their calm majesty and beauty, or be more entirely free from the vulgarity and exaggeration which is generally a characteristic of colossal works of this sort.

Among the other great works of this great king were the completion of the 'Hall of Columns' at Karnak, of the temple begun by Seti at Abydos,[2] part of that founded but left very imperfect by Amenophis III at Luxor,[3] the addition of pylons and colossi to the great temple of Phtah at Memphis,[4] and the entire construction of new temples at Memphis, Heliopolis, Tanis, Beit-el-Wali, Der, Derr, Hussein, and elsewhere.[5] At Kalabshe there is now a small but beautiful example, belonging to the age of Rameses II, and remarkable for the beauty of its sculptured bas-reliefs, as well as for the bold Proto-Doric columns which adorn its vestibule.[6] In Nubia, Rameses introduced the practice of excavating the cells of the temples in the rock, and adding in front of the cells structural buildings consisting of courts and propylons—a combination which is extremely effective, since thus 'the sanctuary has all the impenetrability and mystery of a cave,' while the remainder of the temple has at the same time the ample space, free play of light, and architectural effect of a building standing in the open air.[7]

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[1] Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 107. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 99 [illegible].

[2] See the [illegible] translated by Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 42 [illegible].

[3] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 127. Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 110 [illegible].

[4] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. [illegible].

[5] Ibid. pp. 99, 100, 101, &c.

[6] Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 111 [illegible].

[7] Ibid. pp. 113–14.

In the commemoration of his buildings Rameses especially affected the employment of obelisks and colossi. Obelisks, which have ceased to exist anywhere, but in Egypt, he erected at Heliopolis;[1] and two magnificent ones were added under his auspices to the Luxor edifice,[2] one of which has long attracted the admiration of all beholders in the commanding position which it now occupies on the Place de la Concorde at Paris. This monument, as measured by the French engineers,[3] had an elevation of eighty-two feet, and is exquisitely carved and proportioned. It is of a beautiful pink Syenite granite, and is covered with inscriptions, which have been recently translated by M. Chabas.[4]

The most imposing of all the colossi of Rameses, and indeed of all existing colossi, are those four giant forms already described[5] which guard the portal of the great rock temple of Ipsamboul. These, however, are not, strictly speaking, statues, but figures carved in the rock. Of actual statues the largest which can be definitely ascribed to Rameses II. is that whereof the torso remains in the ruins of the Rameseum, an image of his majesty, which was originally sixty-four feet high, and weighed nearly nine hundred tons.[6] Dr. Brugsch believes it to have been one of a pair, carved to adorn the entrance-court of that magnificent edifice.[7] Another colossus of large dimensions was erected by Rameses in the temple of Phthah at Memphis, and is now lying prostrate and mutilated, amid the ruins of that struc-

[1] Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 61. [2] Ibid. p. 81. [3] See the *Description de l'Egypte*, Antiquités, vol. v. p. 231. Mr. Fergusson makes the height 77 ft. [4] *History of the Obelisk*, vol. i. p. 147; M. Chabas closely agrees with this measurement. [5] *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 17. [6] *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 19–34. [7] Supra, p. 318. [8] See also vol. i. p. 123. [9] *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 80, 1st ed.

ture, near the modern Arab village of Mitrahenny.[1] Two also represented the king himself. Colossi of Seti, his father, were erected by him at Abydos, Memphis, and Thebes;[2] and smaller ones of his favourite wife and some of his daughters have been found at Mitrahenny, a little below the surface of the soil.[3] Colossal images of gods cut in the native rock, elaborately painted, ornament the interior of the greater Ipsambul temple,[4] while the façade of the smaller one exhibits six rock-cut figures of great size, four representing Rameses himself, and two his queen, Nofre-ari-Meri-amun.[5]

The Semitic blood which flowed in the veins of Rameses showed itself alike in his physiognomy and in his actions. He seems to have been the handsomest of all the Egyptian kings. A good head, a large well-formed slightly aquiline nose, a well-shaped mouth with lips not too full, and a thoughtful pensive eye, constitute an *ensemble* which, if not luminous, is at any rate vastly superior to the ordinary royal type in Egypt, and would attract attention among any series of kings.[6] Much physical vigour accompanied this beauty of face. Rameses was the father of fifty-one sons and sixty daughters;[7] many of whom he outlived, his great natural strength enabling him, despite the strain which he put upon it by his active life and general habits, to attain almost to the full term of life

[1] Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 81, 2nd edition. Compare Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, part iii. p. 44.

[2] Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, part iii. pp. 44, 45, &c.

[3] Ibid. pp. 45–47.

[4] See the *Denkmäler*, part iii. p. [illegible], and compare the account of Abu-Simbel in Kenrick's *Ancient Egypt*, vol. i. p. [illegible].

[5] For a representation of these see the *Denkmäler*, part iii. p. [illegible].

[6] See Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 81.

[7] Lenormant, *Ancient Egypt*, p. [illegible]. Rameses exhibits in his features a certain Assyrian element, and in his Nubian type of the larger [illegible] the Ethiopian. But no writer whom I am aware has observed the Semitic character of the nose, which is represented in a number of monuments.

[8] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 111, 2nd ed.

assigned to man by the Psalmist.[1] He began to reign, as we have seen,[2] at the age of ten or twelve, and continued on the throne, according to the express evidence of the monuments,[3] sixty-seven years. He

Head of Rameses II.

thus died at the age of seventy-seven or seventy-nine—a length of life which is rarely reached by Orientals.

The large number of his children makes it clear that Rameses was a polygamist. He appears to have

[1] "Though men be so strong that they come to fourscore years." Ps. xc. 10.

[2] Supra, p. 301.

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 110, 1st ed.; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 194; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 128. Hora, Saronius, Manetho gave the right number of years (*Bunsen, Hist. Gr.* vol. ii. p. 560).

had two principal wives, Isi nefert and Neferari-nitemmit,[1] one of whom he may have espoused after the death of the other. He also married, in what we must suppose legitimate nuptials, Neferari-Ranua, the daughter of the king of the Kuta. Three wives, however, cannot have borne him 119 children between them, and it is thus clear that, besides his wives, he must have maintained a seraglio of concubines, whose number is not likely to have fallen short of twenty.[2] Such an institution was Semitic, and well known in Asia, but hitherto it had not prevailed in Egypt, where monogamy, always compulsory on private persons,[3] had up to this time been practised also by the monarchs.

Of all his sons the one most dear to him was Shetemas, or Khamus[4]—the child of his favourite queen, Isi nefert—who was "a learned and pious prince, devoted especially to the religious service of Phthah," living mainly in the temple of that god at Memphis, and keeping himself aloof from state affairs "more than was quite pleasing to his father."[5] This prince was designated as his successor, and in the meantime held the office of high priest of Phthah in Memphis, in which capacity he exerted himself to restore the worship of the holy Apis-bulls—incarnations, as it was believed, of Phthah[6]—which had fallen into disuetude. The necropolis of the bulls, the so-called Serapeum,[7] was

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii., Appendix, Table i.

[2] Ibid. p. 11. This would allow the concubines an average of five children each, which is not an unreasonable or improbable number.

[3] See above, vol. i. p. 414, and compare Herod. ii. 92, where Wilkinson [illegible] Herodotus, [illegible] p. [illegible].

[4] Brugsch uses the former (ancient Egypt, p. 130), Brugsch the latter (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 11, last ed.).

[5] Brugsch, l.c.

[6] See above, vol. i. p. 414, note [illegible].

[7] [illegible] Mariette [illegible] Monuments [illegible] Serapeum de Memphis, Paris, 1857.

beautified and enlarged by Shacmuns, whose buildings are celebrated in various inscriptions as 'splendid works' deserving of the highest commendation. Unfortunately he died in his father's lifetime, and was thus unable to show what architectural successes he might have achieved if he had had at his disposal the revenues of a kingdom instead of the allowance of an heir apparent.

His affection for this son, and for his two principal wives, shows that the disposition of Rameses II was in some respects amiable, although upon the whole his character is one which scarcely commends itself to our approval. Professing in his early years extreme devotion to the memory of his father,[1] he lived to show himself his father's worst enemy, and to aim at obliterating his memory by erasing his name from the monuments on which it occurred, and in many cases substituting his own.[2] Amid a great show of regard for the duties of his country and for the ordinances of the established worship, he contrived that the chief result of all that he did for religion should be the glorification of himself.[3] Other kings had arrogated to themselves a certain qualified divinity, and after their deaths had sometimes been placed by some of their successors on a par with the great national gods;[4] but it remained for Rameses to associate himself during his lifetime with such leading deities as Phthah,

[1] See a passage on an obelisk of Amenophis translated by Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 34-42. Level), where Rameses says of himself: 'He would not be found forgetting towards his parent and would not hear for him who brought him up' (p. 34). And again: 'The most beautiful thing which the heart loves, as it could with a thankful heart, whose name bears [illegible] father, where on no hearsay can to do what is good for Menephthah (p. 39).

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 44. Level.

[3] See above, pp. 318-10.

[4] As Tothmes III. by Thothmes III. (see p. 242).

Ammon, and Horus, and to claim equally with them the religious regards of his subjects.[1] He was also, as already observed, the first to introduce into Egypt the degrading custom of polygamy and the corrupting influence of a harem. Even his bravery, which cannot be denied, loses half its merit by being made the constant subject of boasting, and his magnificence ceases to appear admirable when we think at what a cost it displayed itself.[2] If, with most recent writers upon Egyptian history,[3] we identify him with the "king who knew not Moses," the builder of Pithom *and Raamses*, the first oppressor of the Israelites, we must add some darker shades to the picture, and look upon him as a cruel and ruthless despot who did not shrink from inflicting on innocent persons the severest pain and suffering.

Rameses II was succeeded by his fourteenth[4] and eldest surviving son, Menephthah, , the Ammenephthes of Manetho. On the death of his brother, Shaemuas, he had been appointed governor of Memphis,[5] and had been admitted to a share in the administration of affairs, if not actually associated,[6] by

[1] See the *Denkmäler*, pl. iii. pl. 180 *a*.

[2] Lenormant says: "Ce n'est qu'avec un véritable sentiment d'horreur qu'on peut songer aux innombrables captifs qui moururent sous le bâton des gardiens, à tous les maux des fatigues excessives et des privations de toute nature qu'eurent à endurer en qualité de forçats les innombrables constructeurs auxquels se glorifiait d'avoir imposé ces travaux le monarque le plus admirable exploiteur de monde qui ait jamais existé. Dans les monuments du règne de Ramsès II il n'y a pas une pierre, pour ainsi dire, qui n'ait coûté une vie humaine." (*Manual of Ancient History*, vol. i. p. 423.)

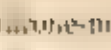
[3] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 125, Brugsch *History of Egypt* vol. ii. pp. 9–15, 1st ed., Lenormant, *Manual* &c., Chabas, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Egypte aux temps de l'Exode*, pp. 14–18, &c.

[4] So Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 222, 1st ed. Birch (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 128) says the "thirteenth."

[5] Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* pp. 72 *a* and 73 *a*.

[6] Birch, *l. c.*

[6] M. Chabas thinks that he was formally associated. (*Recherches*, &c., p. 18.)

his father. On his accession he took the favourite name of Hotep-hi-ma, 'he who trusts in truth,' together with the epithets Ba-en-ra,[1]  , and Mer-amon, . Inheriting from his father an empire which was everywhere at peace with its neighbours, he might have been expected to have had a tranquil and prosperous reign, and to have carried on the burst of architectural energy which had manifested itself under his father and his grandfather. The power, however, which directs human affairs, wholly disappointed these expectations. The unclouded prospect of his early years gave place, after a brief interval, to storm and tempest of the most fearful kind; a terrible invasion carried fire and sword even to the heart of his dominions; and he had scarcely escaped this danger when internal troubles broke out—a subject race, highly valued for the services which it was forced to render, insisted on quitting the land; a great loss was incurred in an attempt to compel it to remain; rebellion broke out in the south; and the reign, which had commenced under such fair auspices, terminated in calamity and confusion. Menephthah was quite unequal to deal with the difficult circumstances in which he found himself placed—he hesitated, temporised, made concessions, retracted them—and finally conducted Egypt to a catastrophe from which she did not recover for a generation.

During his early years Menephthah seems to have remained in peace and quietness, untroubled by discontent at home, unmolested by foreign enemies. At this time he employed himself in further enlarging the cities of New Tanis and Pa-Ramessu,[2] which had been

[1] Ra-en-ra. [2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 115, 1st ed.
[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, p. 132,

built by his father, and in setting up rock-tablets at Sais and elsewhere. He also carried on certain minor works in connection with the great temple of Ptah at Memphis, where he set up a statue of himself in black basalt, which is now in the Museum of Boulaq.[1] He nowhere, however, attempted the erection of any great edifice; and it is certainly true to say that he "did not rank with those Pharaohs who have transmitted their remembrance to posterity by grand buildings and the construction of new temples, or by the enlargement of such as already existed."[2] His monuments are indeed completely insignificant, although widely spread and tolerably numerous, and "mean character" about them, which is especially surprising when we compare with them the noble examples not unsurpassed by his father and his grandfather. Menephthah evidently did not inherit their ambition. He was not, however, of so contented a temper as to be free from the blemish of personal vanity, and this defect in his character led him to be guilty of the meanness of appropriating to himself the works of former kings by the erasure of their names and the substitution of his own[3]—a practice which very unfortunately, such erasures having previously been sometimes made out of hatred and as a punishment, Menephthah made them for the mere purpose of self-glorification, and was indifferent whether he wrote on a friend or an enemy.

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[1] See the *Deukmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 200 *a*.

[2] Chabas, *Recherches pour servir à l'histoire de l'Égypte aux temps de l'Exode*, p. 207.

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 283, 1st ed. M. Maspero considers that the erasure of the name of Amenmeses from the tablet of Karnak (*Recherches, &c.*, pp. 80–3) completely vindicates Menephthah from the charge of having been actuated by personal motives in this matter (*Revue Critique*, 1873, p. 69).

[4] Brugsch, l. c.

[5] Ibid. p. 284. Compare Chabas, *Recherches, &c.*, p. 207.

The foreign relations of Menephthah were during this period satisfactory. He maintained the alliance with the Khita which his father had concluded after the close of his great Asiatic war, and strengthened the bonds of amity by allowing corn to be exported from Egypt for the sustentation of the Hittite people when their crops failed them. He received into Egypt as new settlers several tribes of Bedouins,[2] who were desirous of exchanging their nomadic habits for a more settled life, and established them in the rich lands about the city of Pithom. He retained the foreign conquests of his predecessors in Lower Syria, Ekdsta, and Canaan, carefully superintending their administration by means of constant despatches and messengers.[3] At the same time he guarded with considerable vigour his north-western frontier, prevented any serious irruption of the Libyan tribes, and, up to his fifth year, succeeded in maintaining general tranquillity and prosperity.

But suddenly, in his fifth year,[4] he had to meet an important attack. An African chief, Marmaiu, son of Dedi,[5] collected a numerous army in the tract adjacent to Egypt upon the north-west, composed in part of native Africans, in part of auxiliaries, and, crossing the Egyptian frontier, carried fire and sword over the western and south-western Delta, even threatening the great cities of Heliopolis and Memphis. His auxiliaries

[1] Chabas, p. 87. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. [illegible]; as also *Records of the Past*, vol. iii. p. 43.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 126–7. So Ewald.

[3] Ibid. pp. 126–7. Compare Chabas, *Recherches*, &c. pp. [illegible].

[4] In this date we follow Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. [illegible]; and compare his work *On the Libyan Inscription of the Fourteenth Year with Comments on the Exodus*.

[5] *Records of the Past*, vol. iii. p. 43. Brugsch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 181, Chabas, *Recherches*, &c. p. [illegible]. Compare Birch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 118. Also Lenormant, *Manual of Ancient History*, vol. i. p. 43.

consisted of five principal nations whose names, carefully transliterated from the hieroglyphics, would seem to have been the Aka'usha, the Turshá, the Luku, the Shartana, and the Sheklusha. It has been proposed to regard these tribes as Caucasian races, who at this time had migrated into Libya, having perhaps been previously prisoners of war, whom Rameses II had brought from Asia to Egypt in his military expeditions,[1] but the supposed migration has no historical basis. The expeditions of Rameses II never approached the Caucasus, and the names are only with great violence brought into accord with those of Caucasian peoples.[2] A more plausible theory identifies the races with various tribes of Europeans occupying the northern Mediterranean, and supposes the mercenaries of Marmaiu to have come by sea to his aid, and to have designed a permanent settlement in Africa. The names certainly appear at first sight to lend themselves to this view, the resemblance being considerable between Akaiusha and Achaioi, Turšan and Tyrseni or Tusci, Shartana or Shardana and Sardoni, Sheklusha and Siculoi or Sicli; while Luku is not far from Ligyes or Ligures, a people of the western Mediterranean. The first appearance of European races upon the stage of history must have the greatest interest for the modern world, in which Europe plays the first part; and if the identifications of M. de Rouge[3] are allowed, it must be granted that here Europe first steps upon the scene, exhibiting herself as

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 141 *et seq.*

[2] Dr. Brugsch identifies the Aka'usha with the Achæans of the Europeans, the Shartana with the Dardani, the Turšha with the Tauri, the Luku with the Lycians. He also suggests that the Uashash of the time of Rameses III are the Etruscans and the Qeheqesha the Cephalenians (see his *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 124).

[3] *Revue Archéologique* for 1867, pp. 107 *et seq.*

a great aggressive power in the fourteenth century before our era, a hundred years anterior to the earliest traditional date for the Trojan war,[1] and in the actual lifetime of Moses. So extraordinary a revelation has naturally great attractions for many minds in an age when novelty is more esteemed than sobriety of judgment, if not even than historic truth, and, thus M. de Rougé's view has found many advocates among Egyptologists,[2] and has approved itself to some general scholars of distinguished reputation.[3] But the difficulties in the way of its acceptance are great; and perhaps it is as probable that the races in question were native African tribes otherwise unknown to us as that they really consisted of the Achæans, Etruscans, Sardinians, Sicilians, and Ligyans of Europe.

We have no estimate left us of the number of the invaders, but it certainly exceeded 20,000, and probably did not fall much short of 40,000 men.[4] The Libyans, the Maxyes, and the kahaka, who were Marmaris's subjects, formed the main bulk of the force, contingents of no great size being furnished by the Akaiusha, Turshá, Luka, Shartana, and Shekelesh, who were not his subjects, but "foreign mercenaries." The attack seems to have been made towards the apex

[1] The date of Menephthah is probably about B.C. 1300. The Trojan war took place about B.C. 1250 according to Herodotus, Thucydides and the author of the Life of Homer.

[2] See M. Chabas, *Études sur l'Antiquité historique*, pp. 187–191 and *Recherches pour servir à l'Histoire de l'Égypte*, p. 84; Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 431; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 130, &c.

[3] See Mr. Gladstone's *Juventus Mundi*, p. 44 and his *Homeric Synchronism*, pp. 139–43.

[4] As the slain and the captives together exceeded 18,000, which was many weeks' work, while the smaller estimate of the text would be the least possible, the larger would add to a highly probable number.

Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 118, 2nd ed.

of the Delta, and was at first completely successful. The frontier towns were taken by assault and "turned into heaps of rubbish;"[1] the Delta was entered upon, and a position taken up in the neighbourhood of Prosopis,[2] from which both Memphis and Heliopolis were menaced. Meneptthah hastily fortified these cities,[3] or rather (we must suppose) strengthened their existing defences, and, making Memphis his own head quarters proceeded to collect an army, partly of Egyptians, partly of mercenaries, wherewith to oppose the enemy. He did not, however, venture to take the command in person; but pretending an express command of Phthah, whom he had seen in vision, forbidding him to quit Memphis,[4] he sent his troops under generals to encounter the enemy. A great battle was fought in the neighbourhood of Prosopis on the third of Epiphi (May 18), in which, after the struggle had lasted six hours,[5] the Libyans and their allies were completely defeated and forced to fly. Marmaiu himself was among the first to quit the field; and he did so with such haste as to leave behind him not only his camp equipage, but his bow, his quiver, and his sandals.[6] His wife and children, who had accompanied him to the fight, seem also to have escaped, together with some considerable number of his soldiers.[7] But above eight thousand[8] were slain,

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. [illegible] and seq.

[2] The district of Prosopis lay between Memphis and Pelusium, and extended from the Nile, commencing at the point of the Delta separation. *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 41, § 11.

[3] See Birch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 119, § 25, and vol. iii. p. 130, § 45. Dr. Birch quotes the sandals (*Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. [illegible]).

[4] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 130, § 45. Dr. Birch quotes the sandals (*Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. [illegible]).

[5] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 130, § 45. Dr. Birch quotes the sandals (*Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. [illegible]).

[6] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 130, § 45. Dr. Birch quotes the sandals (*Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. [illegible]).

[7] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 130, § 45. Dr. Birch quotes the sandals (*Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. [illegible]).

[8] There is some difficulty in making out the number of the slain, which is variously stated. Birch (*Ancient Egypt*, p. [illegible]) has the number of the hands and members brought to the scribes as 9,111 (see Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. [illegible], stated).

in the battle and the pursuit, and above nine thousand were made prisoners.[1] The defeat was total and irremediable. Marmaiu's power was shattered, and he is heard of no more. The mercenaries, of whatever race they were, learned by experience the wisdom of leaving the Libyans to fight their own battles, and of not again themselves crossing swords with the Egyptians. When the next occasion came for a Libyan invasion of Egypt, no mercenaries accompanied them; and though the Shekelsha and Tursha are still occasionally found among the enemies of Egypt, the majority of the allies of Marmaiu abstained from further hostile movement. The Sardians even entered the Egyptian service, and came to hold a place among the most trusted of the Egyptian troops.[2]

It was probably not many years[3] after this great victory over the Libyans and their allies had raised Menephthah to a high pitch of glory, both in his own eyes and in those of his subjects, that a demand was made upon him by the chief of a subject race, long domiciled in Egypt, which must have seemed to him wholly preposterous. Moses, a Hebrew brought up in the court of his predecessor, but for many years self-exiled from Egypt, appeared before him and requested permission to conduct his people out into the desert, which bounded Egypt on the east, the distance of three days' journey, in order that they might hold a feast and offer sacrifice to their God, Jehovah.[4] Menephthah,

[1] The exact number is given as [illegible]

See the Annals of Ramesses III. in the Great Harris Papyrus (*Records of the Past*, vol. [illegible]

[2] The eighth year of Menephthah is the latest found upon the monuments. He may have reigned some little time after the twenty years of Manetho; but Sewell (*Egypt*, p. 72) is probably in excess.

[3] Exod. I.

not unnaturally, refused, fearing to lose the services of more than half a million of bondsmen, who, if they once quitted the country and found themselves free, would not be likely to return. At the same time, to punish the nation for its temerity, and to keep down its aspirations, he increased the burden of its task-work, and exacted an amount which it was impossible for them to perform. Moses, however, still persisting in his demand, and alarming the king and his court by a series of 'plagues,' continually increasing in severity, and culminating in the 'destruction of the first-born,' the required permission was at length obtained, and on a certain day the nation, carefully organised by its leaders, quitted Egypt and entered the desert.[2] But Menephthah had scarcely yielded when he repented of his weakness. Gathering together all the force that he could easily muster, horse and foot and chariots—of these last more than six hundred—he followed after the Hebrews and overtook them 'encamping by the sea, at Pi-hahiroth, before Baal-Zephon.'[3] It is scarcely the business of the general historian of ancient Egypt to enter into the difficult question of what sea is intended, and what route the Hebrews pursued upon quitting Egypt. The traditional belief of both the Egyptians and the Israelites that the sea was the Red Sea[4] is a fact of such vast weight that, against it, geographical speculations and ingenious explanations of

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[2] Ex. v. 8-10.
[3] Ibid. xiv. 2.
[4] Ibid. xiv. 9.
[4] The word of the Egyptians and of Israel is Yam Suph, which is rendered in the Septuagint by Ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα, the Red Sea. The Hebrew tradition appears to the fact that the Yam Suph in the later Scriptures is always the Red Sea, except in a portion of the Mosaic narrative (Exodus xv. 4, and Deut. xxi. 1). It is also supported by the uniform rendering of the LXX.

names[1] sank into insignificance, and are, to say the least, quite insufficient to establish a theory which runs counter to the belief of, at any rate, three millennia. But, leaving this question on one side, we may be content to state in general terms the issue. Favoured by 'a strong east wind,'[2] the Hebrews made their way

Head of Menephthah.

upon dry ground across the arm of the sea that had seemed to bem them in. On attempting to follow them along the same route, the Egyptians were overwhelmed by the returning waters, the chariot wheels were entangled in the soft ooze; the horses and their riders

[1] Dr Brugsch's paper read before the International Congress of Orientalists in 1874, and published in the second volume of the Congress's Transactions, pp. 338–368, 1st ed.) is beyond a doubt a most ingenious effort, but it has failed to convince more than a select few.

[2] Ex. xiv. 21.

crushed; the chosen captains were drowned—"the depths covered them: they sank to the bottom as a stone."[1] All the troops that had entered on the dangerous path were destroyed; a great slaughter was accomplished, and a blow received which was felt throughout the empire as a terrible calamity.

But the Pharaoh himself escaped.[2] Menephthah, with the remnant of his host, returned to Egypt and resumed the peaceful occupations which first the invasion of Marmaun, and then the Hebrew troubles, had interrupted. But now revolt seems to have shown itself in the south.[3] A prefect, named Amen-mes or Amon-meses, or , belonging to a city called Hakheb or Kheb,[4] which was situated near the modern Beni-souef, on the Nile opposite the Fayoum, came forward, and was perhaps accepted as monarch by the Thebans. Menephthah died, leaving his crown to his son, Seti-Menephtha , or Seti II; but this monarch was not generally acknowledged,[5] and a time of confusion and much obscurity ensued.

[1] Ex. xv. 5.

[2] Fa-ch. *Comment on Exodus*, pp. 162–4; and more particularly Ex. xiv. 28 and xv. 5, 7, that the Pharaoh perished. But I agree with Wilkinson (*Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 54, note) here in the necessity to the writings of Moses for supposing that the Pharaoh was drowned. On the contrary, it seems to me that the silence of any reference to the Pharaoh's death is the strongest possible indication that he survived.

[3] Bunsen, *History of Egypt*, vol. v. p. 118, 1st ed. He considers that the history of this period is much obscurity; and it must be granted that he supports what he says by very good arguments.

[4] Amen-mes succeeded Menephthah or against his son, Seti II. I have been induced to place Amen-mes directly after Menephthah chiefly by his position in Manetho's lists (ap. Syncell. *Chronographia*, pp. 72 and 74, ed. Par.).

[5] Further in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. i. p. 477. Compare *Memoirs of History*, &c., vol. i. p. 181.

[6] Manetho omits Seti-Menephthah altogether. His name is sometimes found with marks of erasure upon his monuments. (See Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 55.)

disorder set in, which is characterised by Ramesses III. as a period of complete anarchy, when Egypt was without a master, and the various pretenders to power strove with and massacred one the other.[1] Amon-nes (the Ammen-e-nes of Manetho[2] reigned for a time—perhaps five years[3]—at Thebes, and took the title of *hak Uas*, 𓎛𓋴𓊪, 'King of Thebes,' which he attached to his name within his escutcheon.[4] He designed and finished his tomb in the Biban-el-Moluk, an excavation of moderate pretensions.[5] Upon his death, Seti-Menephthah appears to have been recognised as monarch by the Egyptians generally,[6] and to have transferred his abode to Thebes, where he built a small temple,[7] and erected a statue of himself, which is now in the British Museum.[8] He also carried on a war in the southern part of his dominions, and set up a tablet as a conqueror on the rocks near Abu-Simbel.[9]

In countenance Seti II. was remarkably handsome. He had a long, well formed nose, nearly in line with his forehead, arched eyebrows, a good eye with full eyelid, a short upper lip, a cleanly cut mouth, and a delicate rounded chin. He seems, however, to have been wanting in energy and decision. Before he had been long seated upon the throne, a high official named

[1] See the Great Harris Papyrus, translated in the *Records of the Past*, vol. v. pp. 16, 31, and compare *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Literature*, vol. i. 'Khaa' and 'Thuro.' *Recherches pour servir &c.* p. 15.

[2] Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 73 B.

[3] So Manetho, according to Africanus. Syncellus gives Manetho's numbers as 20 (Chron. Can. part. ii. ch. xx. § 4).

[4] See Chabas, *Recherches*, p. 77.

[5] Hoskyn, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 136; *Denkmäler*, pl. 121, pp. 202 c.

[6] Seti II.'s name and titles are found at Thebes, at Semneh and at Ipsambul in Nubia. There is unquestionable evidence of the rule being acknowledged in the extreme south (Rawlinson, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 162 1st edit.).

[7] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 167.

[8] Ibid.

[9] *Denkmäler*, pl. iii. pp. 204 c.

Ra brought forward, as a rival claimant of the supreme power, a certain Siphtah,[1] who is thought to have been a son of Amenmes,[2] and who was certainly a native of the same city.[3] Seti seems to have made but little resistance to this antagonist. According to one authority,[4] he accepted from him the title of "Prince

Head of Seti II.

of Cush," and consented to act as his viceroy in the southern provinces, but it is perhaps more probable that he was either killed in battle, or declaimed and murdered by his successful rival.

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[1] Ra says, in an inscription that he "put away falsehood and gave truth to the lords thereof, so as to see the king upon his father's throne" (Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 161, ed. ed., Chabas, *Recherches*, p. 228.)

[2] Brugsch, l.c., Eisenlohr in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. i. p. 477, 8.

[3] Eisenlohr, l.c.

[4] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 434.

Siphtah, Ra, who now became king, took the epithet of Meri-en-ptah, 'beloved of Ptah,' and the throne-name of Ra-khu-en-setep-en-ra,[1] . It would seem that, to strengthen himself in his usurped position, he married a princess of the Eighteenth family, who may have been, but is certainly not proved to have been,[2] a daughter of Mer-en-ptah and a sister of Seti II. Her name appears on the monuments as Ta-user or Ta-user-t,[3] which Manetho changed into Thuôris.[4] She seems to have shared the royal authority with her husband, and perhaps enjoyed it during the term of seven years, as Manetho says, however, mistook her sex rather.[5] But the joint reign was troubled and inglorious. Siphtah did not engage in any wars, and the only important work that he completed was the excavation of some pretentious.[6]

A period of anarchy followed the death of Siphtah, and separated the nineteenth dynasty from the twentieth. 'For many years,' we are told, 'the country was without a master, the chief authority belonged to the governors of cities, who waged war one the other. After a time a certain Arsu, a Syrian, became chief among them, the whole country offering him homage, but his domination plundered all who possessed any wealth. Moreover, the gods were treated like the men; and no one any more made offerings to

[1] Chabas, *Recherches*, p. 77.

[2] Le Normant says categorically that Siphtah married a daughter of Mer-en-ptah (*Manuel de l'histoire ancienne*, 4th ed. vol. i. pp. 462–4); but the statement is wanting in confirmation, and is conjecture rather than historical fact.

[3] See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 201 *a*.

[4] Ap. Syncell. *Chronographia*, p. 104 B; Euseb. *Chron. Can.* Ar. i. 103.

[5] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 201 *a* and *b*.

the temples.[1] Once more, a dynasty of the highest distinction, one which had ruled Egypt gloriously for above a century,[2] and covered the country with magnificent works, expired amid clouds and gloom. Internal rebellion and external attack combined to produce a general state of confusion and anarchy, which threatened the complete dissolution of the whole frame of Egyptian society. For several years this state of things continued, and the sufferings of the people must have been great. Had the nation not possessed extraordinary vitality, recovery from so extreme a state of depression and exhaustion would have been impossible, but there was *that* in the Egyptian character which almost defied adverse circumstances, and enabled the monarchy to rise again and again like the fabled giant, after being stricken to the earth, and to vindicate to itself again and again a foremost place among the leading kingdoms of the world. We shall find Egypt under the twenty-first dynasty occupying almost as commanding a position as that which we have shown her to have held under the eighteenth and the nineteenth.

The civilization of Egypt under these two most important dynasties has now, according to the general plan pursued in the present work, to be considered, and will be divided under our three customary heads—Art, Religion, and Manners.

[1] See the extracts from Manetho given above, pp. [illegible] and compare Brugsch's *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 187, 1st ed. Amid much discrepancy in details, there is general agreement between Manetho and the monuments that Egypt was for a time without a central authority, and the gods were treated with neglect.

[2] Nearly two centuries, according to the Manetho of Eusebius (Canon Cory, pp. 31–33; Unger, p. 76); but this is certainly an over-estimate. (See above, p. 14.)

Whatever may be thought with respect to other departments of art, it cannot be questioned that Egyptian architecture reached its highest perfection under these two dynasties. The Rameseum, the temples of Medinet-Abou and Ipsamboul, the palace-temples or temple-palaces of Karnak and Luxor, and the rock-cut tombs of the Biban-el-Moluk, belong alike to the period, and give it an architectural pre-eminence over every other period in Egyptian history, which only profound ignorance can doubt or extreme captiousness dispute. The latest historian of architecture has given us his verdict, that the hypostyle hall of Seti I. at Karnak is 'the greatest of man's architectural works,' and the entire building, of which it is a part, 'the noblest effort of architectural magnificence ever produced by the hand of man.'[1] The same writer has declared, though familiar with the grand examples at Ellora and Elephanta, that the rock-cut temple of Ipsamboul is 'the finest of its class known to exist anywhere.'[2] Intelligent travelers are struck by the Theban edifices—the work almost exclusively of these dynasties—far more than by all the other constructions of the Pharaohs.[3] Most of them are disappointed by the Pyramids; there is scarcely one whose heart is not stirred by a thrill of admiration as he contemplates Karnak or Luxor.

If we inquire what exactly constituted the pre-eminence of these Pharaonic works over the remainder, the readiest answer would seem to be that they exhibited more strikingly than any others the combination

[1] Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 108, 1st ed.
[2] Ibid. p. 103.
[3] Ibid. p. 114.
[4] Sir W. Palmer's *Egyptian Chronicle*, vol. i. 'Introduction,' p. xv.; Stanley's *Sinai and Palestine*, 'Introduction,' pp. xxxv.-xxxvi., &c.

of enormous mass and size with a profusion of the most elaborate ornamentation. The Pyramids are grander structures, far more massive, and—at any rate in two instances[1]—covering a larger area, but they are at present, and probably always were,[2] entirely devoid of ornament, perfectly plain constructions, intended to produce their whole effect upon the spectator by mere hugeness and solid massiveness. The Theban palace-temples have this quality in a less degree than the Pyramids; but still they have it largely. They cover *nearly* as much ground as the greatest of the Pyramids; they contain blocks of stone as enormous, and even their material bulk, though very inferior, impresses the mind almost as much, being more manifest and appreciable. With this quality of vast size they united a wealth of varied ornamentation to which a parallel scarcely exists anywhere else. The buildings presented a long vista of gateways, and courts, and colonnades, and pillared halls, led up to by avenues of sphinxes or of colossi, and themselves adorned with colossi or with tall tapering obelisks, which shot up above the general horizontal line of the courts and halls, as the pinnacles and towers and spires of a modern cathedral rise themselves above the line of the nave and choir. Within and without, on the massive gate-towers, on the walls of chambers and of

[1] The Great Pyramid of Gizeh covers an area of 746,496 square feet; the Second Pyramid one of 690,840 square feet. The area covered by the Palace-Temple of Karnak is estimated at 1,000,000 square feet (Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 114).

[2] Dean Stanley, however, thinks that Herodotus and Diodorus are in error, and expresses a belief that the "smooth outsides of the Pyramids were covered with sculptures" (*Sinai and Palestine*, Introduction, p. lv.). But the statement of the second Pyramid, which is still in part above ground, is too clear and circumstantial and Herodotus is too sparing of nothing but a short legend on the hieroglyphic character as one of the Pyramids (ii. 125).

courts, on the colonnades, on the very pillars themselves, everywhere, on every side, whithersoever the eye could turn itself, elaborate sculptures representing gods and kings, and battle-scenes, and graceful forms of vegetable life, were to be seen, all glowing with warm tints, and enchanting the eye with a blaze of gorgeous yet well-assorted hues. Form, colour, vastness, multiplicity, elaboration, mystery, combined to impress, astonish, and delight the spectator, who saw on every side of him stately gateways, huge colonnaded courts, long vistas of pillars, calm silent sphinxes, colossi, slim obelisks—all bathed to some extent in the warm light of an Egyptian sky, and, even where the shade was deepest, resplendent with the hues of art.[1]

The combination of mass, however, with rich ornamentation is not the sole merit of the works which we are considering. There is a harmony in the forms and in the tints, a solemnity and majesty in the general features introduced, a skill in the employment of painting and sculpture as subsidiary to architecture, which have scarcely been surpassed as yet, and which are above all praise.[2] Moreover, the style is eminently

[1] The Egyptian painting of subjects connected with architecture was also, as a rule, good.

[2] "What Mr. Fergusson says of Egyptian architecture generally is specially true of the period here spoken of. Taken altogether we may perhaps safely assert that the Egyptians were the most elaborately ornamental people of whom we are acquainted with, and their ornamentation was generally successful and appropriate. They attained in this way ... The Egyptians attained, surpassed, their refinement and beauty of detail not in the case of sculpture only, which they considered their handmaid, but in the case of architecture far excellent them in construction or symmetry, but which these alone kept in other arts cannot be put into competition with them. At the same time, neither these nor architects understood properly the grade of art, and the exact character that should be given to every feature. Whether it was the pylon-gateway, the propylæa, the portico, the hall of columns, the sanctuary, or the tomb, the Egyptian architect perceived perfectly how to make the general design express exactly what he wanted, and to make every detail, and all the

suited to the country itself, to its climate, atmosphere, and general physical features; transport it elsewhere, and it would lose half its charm; but in Egypt, in the flat green valley of the Nile with its low wall of rock on either side, with its pellucid air, bright sun, and clear blue sky, it is as near perfection as anything human, or at least as anything within the circle of the arts. Whatever eulogy is justly bestowed on Egyptian architecture generally belongs especially to the great works of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, which brought the style introduced by the monarchs of the twelfth to a pitch of excellence never exceeded, and rarely equalled, by the later Pharaohs.

In glyptic art the great glory of the period consisted in its colossi. The rock-cut images of Rameses II at Ipsambul, the sitting figures of Amenophis III near Luxor, remnants (as is thought[1]) of an avenue of eighteen, and the enormous granite statue of Rameses—the pride of his Rameseum—at Karnak, are far more gigantic than any other human forms at present existing upon the earth, and impress the beholder with a feeling of combined awe and admiration, which with difficulty finds vent in expression. 'Nothing which now exists in the world,' says Dean Stanley of the last-named of these colossi, 'can give any notion

various materials, contribute to the general effect. They understood also, better than any other nation, how to treat sculpture in combination with architecture, and to make their colossal statues of sphinxes group themselves into parts of one great design, and at the same time to use historical paintings, running by successive degrees of hieroglyphics on the one side and into sculpture on the other—uniting the whole together with the highest class of phonetic utterance. With the most learned reticence they thus have impressed all these arts into the great whole, unsurpassed by anything the world has seen during the thirty centuries of its epic and upon which have stamped a new character of the great grandeur of the Pharaohs' (Fergusson *History of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 126, 1st ed.).

[1] Stanley *Sinai and Palestine*, 'Introduction,' § xxvi.

of what the effect must have been when the figure was erect. Nero towering above the Colosseum may have been something like it; but he was of bronze, and Rameses was of solid granite. Nero was standing without any object, Rameses was resting in awful majesty after the conquest of the whole of the then known world.'[1] Miss Martineau's impression of the colossi of Amenôphis has been already noticed.[2] The Dean says of them:[3] 'The sun was setting, the African range glowed red behind them, the green plain was dyed with a deeper green beneath them, and the shades of evening veiled the vast rents and fissures in their aged frames. They too sit, hands on knees, and they too are sixty feet high. As I looked back on them in the sunset, and they rose up in front of the background of the mountain, they seemed indeed as if they were part of it—as if they belonged to some natural creation rather than to any work of art.' The Ipsambul figures are almost equally impressive. 'Nothing can exceed,' we are told, 'their calm majesty and beauty.'[4] 'The wonderful façade surpasses everything which our imagination can conceive of grandeur in a human work.'[5] 'Standing before them, the thoughtful child of our modern age first feels the greatness of antiquity in its all powerful might.'[6]

It is the ordinary fault of colossi to be coarse and vulgar. Giants are unpleasing in actual life, and magnified representations of our fellow men leave for the most part an unsatisfactory impression. The great colossi of the best Egyptian times are redeemed from

[1] Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, 'Introduction,' p. xxxv.
[2] See above, p. 200.
[3] Stanley, *Sinai and Palestine*, 'Introduction,' p. xxxvi.
[4] Fergusson, *History of Architecture*, vol. i. p. 143.
[5] Rougé, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 181.
[6] *Ibid.* p. 11.

vulgarity by their majestic pose, the stiff rigidity of their forms, and the stamp which they bear upon them of eternal changeless tranquillity. Profound repose, with something of a look of scorn, is their characteristic expression—they resemble beings above all human weaknesses, all human passions—Epicurean deities, unconcerned spectators of the lapse of ages and the follies and woes of man.

The bas-reliefs of the period have two special features—first, they are on a far larger scale than any previous ones, and secondly, they are more vigorous and animated. While domestic scenes continue to be represented in the tombs,[1] and religious ones both in the tombs and in the temples, the grand subject of war is for the first time introduced[2]—all its phases receive careful treatment, the march, the encampment, the conflict, the siege, the pursuit, vast surfaces are covered with enormous pictures, into which hundreds of figures are introduced[3]—life, action, rapid movement, energy are portrayed, infinitely varied attitudes occur, the artists seem to have emancipated themselves from all the old conventional trammels, and represent the various circumstances of battle with equal truthfulness and spirit. Especially do they succeed in the delineation of the newly imported horse, now standing still, now trotting, now galloping at full speed, now wounded, swerving, falling prone on the ground; or again prancing, rearing, turning round, feeding, about to lie down, extended at its ease, in every position equally well drawn and clearly stamped from the life. Warfare is exhibited with all its multiform incidents.

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[1] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 63 a, 64 a, 71, 77 c, &c.

[2] Ibid. pls. 129 a, 130 a, 145 c, 154, 155, 156, &c.

[3] See above, vol. i. p. 462. The representations given in the text are upon a small scale upon an average.

Foreign races have their various costumes, physiognomies, armature, modes of fighting, war-animals, style of chariot. Even the confusion and turmoil of a sea-fight was regarded as within the range of the artists' powers; and adverse galleys engaged in actual combat exhibit to us the facts of naval warfare about the time of Moses.[1]

It is thought that the sculptures of the period which we are considering, whether in relief or 'in the round,' while they comprise the highest perfection to which Egyptian art ever attained, contain also distinct traces of the commencement of a decline.[2] The change occurred in the latter part of the reign of Rameses II. It consisted in a want of care and finish, an undue elongation of the figure,[3] and an occasional rudeness and coarseness which are pronounced 'barbaric.'[4] To the unprofessional eye, however, the difference is not very striking, and even the sculptures of Rameses III., the second king of the succeeding dynasty, seem to fall but little short of the great masterpieces of Seti I. and Rameses II.

In the matter of religion, the most noticeable changes which occurred are connected with the disk-worship, and with the alternate elevation and depression of the god Set. The cult of the disk, favoured by

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[1] Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxxii. The date of this scene is a little later than the time hereto assigned to it, since it belongs to the reign of Rameses III.

[2] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 129. Lenormant, *Manual of History*, &c., vol. i. p. 326. The latter writer says: 'Les sculptures de Ramsès II. nous font assister à une décadence rationelle de la sculpture égyptienne, qui se perçoit avec une incroyable rapidité à mesure que l'on s'avance dans ce long règne. Il débute par des œuvres hâtives de toute admiration, qui sont le *non plus ultra* de l'art égyptien, mais bientôt l'oppression universelle, qui pèse sur tout le système comme un joug de fer tarit la source de la grande inspiration des arts. A la fin du règne, la décadence est complète.'

[3] Birch, *Guide to Galleries*, p. 17.

[4] Lenormant, *Loc.*

Amenophis III.[1] and fully established by his son, Amenophis IV., or Khuenaten, is chiefly remarkable on account of its exclusive character, the disk-worshippers opposing and disallowing all other cults and religious usages. Had Khuenaten been able to effect the religious revolution at which he aimed, the old Egyptian religion would have been destroyed, and its place would have been taken by a species of monotheism, in which the material sun would have been recognised as the One and only Lord, and Ruler of the Universe. Amamen, Khem, Kneph, Ptah, Maat, Khonsu, Osiris, Horus, Isis, Thoth, would have disappeared, and sun-worship, pure and simple, would have replaced the old complicated polytheism. But Egypt was not prepared for this change. The hieratic interest, naturally enlisted against it, was strong: the popular sentiment was opposed to change, and especially to innovations which could be traced to the influence of foreigners; disk-worship never obtained any firm hold on the Egyptian people; it was a court religion, introduced and sustained by kings, for which the bulk of their subjects had neither regard nor reverence.

It was otherwise with the Set movement, which strove to exalt that god to the highest place in the Pantheon. There had been in Egypt from a remote antiquity a struggle between the devotees of Set and those of Osiris,[2] the esoteric meaning of which it is difficult to penetrate, for we can scarcely suppose that the followers of Set were actual devil worshippers. If the myth of Osiris was originally solar, and Set was merely night, which engulfs and destroys the sun, we can understand that there would be, in such a country

[1] Supra, p. 251.

[2] See above, vol. i. p. 251.

as Egyptian persons to whom night might seem more admirable, more divine than day; who would therefore take the part of Set, and think that he had done well to slay his brother. And the division into the two camps, once begun, would continue long after its meaning had become lost to view. The Osiris worshippers were always saying hard things of Set and seeking to depress him below the point at which he stood in the original Pantheon. The Set worshippers resisted them. During the early monarchy, Set, on the whole, maintained a fairly high place.[1] With the success of the Shepherds (Hyksos), however, he entered on a new position. Set was the patron deity of the first Hyksos king of Egypt, who actually bore his name; and Set-worship thus received a new impulse and a new life under the Shepherd rule, until at last it was, in Lower Egypt at any rate, established as exclusively the state religion. When the Hyksos were expelled, Set fell with them, not merely losing the position to which he had attained, but sinking to a comparatively subordinate place among the Egyptian deities. In this position he remained throughout the whole period of the eighteenth dynasty,[2] but with the accession of the nineteenth he once more came to the front. Rameses I. named his eldest son Seti—a name commonly written with the figure of the god,[3] and implying a dedication of his first-born to that divinity. Seti, when he became king, naturally brought Set forward, not only worshipping him together with the other Osirian gods,[4]

[1] Supra, pp. 91 and 130.

[2] If there is one exception it is in the reign of Thothmes III., who seems to have had a considerable regard for Set, and represents him not unfrequently on his monuments (*Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 34, 35, 36, 36 *b*, &c.).

[3] See above, vol. i. p. 311, note [4].

[4] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 125 *a*.

but representing himself as receiving life at his hands. Various princes of the Ramesside house received a similar dedication with that of Seti I.[1] and Set's high rank among the gods was maintained beyond the period of the nineteenth dynasty into that of the twentieth.

With regard to the entire period of which we are treating, nothing is more remarkable than the absence of any strong favouritism, and the equitable allotment of religious regard among a large number of deities. On the whole, Ammon, now almost always viewed as Ammon-Ra, maintains his pre-eminence; but great attention is paid also to Horus, Kneph, Athor, Ra, Thoth, Phthah, Osiris, Isis, Mentu, Maut, Turn, Kamus, and Netpe. Satis also, Sbu, Anuka, Seb, Tafne, and Sabak are frequently worshipped; and occasional honour is paid to Khem, Sekh, Anubis, Nephthys, Ma, Sekhet, North Typhon, Hapi, the Nile God, Horus, Semeh, and Bes. Altogether, about forty deities appear in the bas-reliefs as objects of religious adoration during the period, which is one at which the Pantheon obtains almost its full development. To give life seems to be the prerogative of comparatively speaking) but few deities—as Ammon, Horus, Set, Kneph, Thoth, Mentu, Athor, and Netpe.[2] It belongs to Set to teach the monarch to shoot.[3] Ammon-Ra, Thoth, and Sekh confer immortality by writing the monarch's name on the leaves of the tree of life.[4] In battle, the king is compared commonly with Mentu, Set, or Bar (Baal),[5] and is regarded as under the special protection of

[1] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 124 *d*.

[2] As Seti II. Sutekhi, Set and Set-nakht, sons of Rameses II. and III.

[3] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 30 *a*, 33 *b*, 40 *a*, 55 *b*, 56 *a*, *bc*, 65 *a*, 72, 74 *a*, 82 *c*, 124 *d*, 151 *a*, &c.

[4] *Ibid.* pl. 30 *b*.

[5] Lepsius, pls. 7 *a* and 10 *b*.

[6] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 43, 71, 72, 75, 76, &c.

Aramon-Ra.[1] Living, he is commonly entitled 'the Horus,' or 'the living Horus;' dead, 'the Osiris.'

A further development of the doctrine, that the kings were actual gods,[2] also characterises the period under consideration. Hitherto the king-worship had been one of language and sentiment,[3] now it took a material shape. Thothmes III., at Semneh and Koummeh, associated his ancestor, Usurtasen III., with Kneph and Totun on terms of complete equality,[4] figuring him on the same scale, offering to him sacrificial feasts, and representing himself as receiving 'life' at his hands.[5] Amunhotep II., his son, followed his example.[6] Other kings exalted Neferari Aahmes to the rank of a goddess.[7] But it remained for Rameses II. not only to represent himself as worshipped,[8] but actually to set up his own image for worship in a temple together with, and on a par with, images of three of the greatest gods, namely, Ammon, Phthah, and Horus.[9] The deification of the reigning monarch became thus complete. It is scarcely possible that any other religious sentiment can have maintained such influence over men, when the doctrine was accepted, that in their actual monarch they had present with them a deity as great as any in earth or heaven.[10]

The arts of life take a rapid advance under the early kings of the eighteenth dynasty, and progressed

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[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 39, 40, 43, &c., vol. iv. p. 44, &c.

[2] See above, pp. 178–4.

[3] The only exception, so far as I know, was the apparent act of Amunmai in erecting a statue for the cult of the kings in connexion with their burial-place; but this seems to have been a domestic arrangement and to have had regard to the general worship of ancestors, of which we have spoken *supra*, vol. i. p. 423).

[4] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 47, 50.

[5] *Ibid.* pt. iii. pls. 54 *c* and 57 *a*.

[6] *Ibid.* pt. iii. pl. 67.

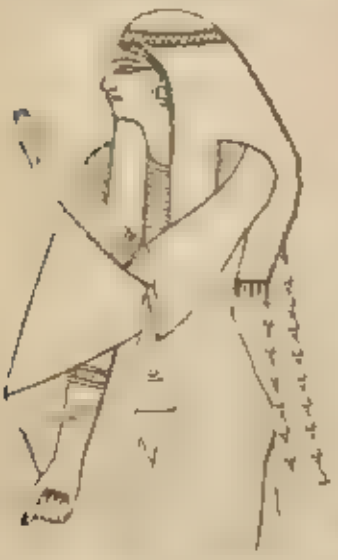
[7] *Ibid.* pls. 147 *a*, 151 *b*, 169 *a*, &c.

[8] *Ibid.* pl. 145 *c*.

[9] See above, p. 349, note [4].

[10] Dean Stanley well says a reference to Rameses II.: 'His images carried one back to the days when there were giants upon the earth. It shows how the king in that first monarchy, was the visible god

steadily, though more slowly, until about the middle of the nineteenth. The costumes of kings and queens become suddenly most elaborate. King Amenhotep I is represented[1] with three garments over his kilt or apron, which itself has a complicated and brilliant ornament in front, consisting of a broad stripe in four colours, blue, red, yellow, and green, with three pendent ends of ribband on either side of it. He has also a broad belt, similarly variegated. His upper garments, which seem to be all made of a white, striped, very transparent muslin, are, first, a short petticoat beginning at the waist and descending to the calf of the leg; secondly, a long robe reaching from the shoulders to the ankles; and thirdly, a flowing cape. He wears further armlets and bracelets of gold, seemingly enamelled, a broad collar



Queen Nefertari Aahmes.

of many lines, white sandals, a close-fitting blue cap with a *uræus* ornament in front, an artificial black beard, two mounds down his back, and the staff peculiar to kings and gods. His mother Nefertari Aahmes, who is represented with him, wears the complicated vulture headdress which has been

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upon earth. The only thing like such an exhibition of the conquering [illegible] seems to be the description of the triumph of Osiris over Typhon, in the Denkmäler, pt. iii. pl. [illegible]

[1] See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 1

given above,[1] a *blue* wig, a long robe of white striped muslin, indecently transparent, and an elaborate flowing cape of the same. She has armlets and bracelets set with jewels, white sandals, a broad collar like her sons, and earrings. A broad sash, blue, red, and yellow, depends from her waist to the bottom of her robe. In another representation she has a wig with long pendants of a peculiar character.[2]

It is not often that the dresses represented are so elaborate as these, but there is, speaking generally, a marked advance in the manner, completion, and variety of the garments, both of men and women. In times III introduces the tall cap, round in front

Headdresses of Thothmes III. and Amenophis IV.

and pointed at the back, which thenceforth becomes the favourite headdress of the kings, being occasionally covered with spots, which may represent pearls. Kings sometimes wear a spencer similarly spotted,[3] which covers the shoulders and reaches to the waist. One king, Amenophis IV., wears at the base of his cap a *uraeus*, or diadem terminating in two flowing ends.[4] He has also a long flowing robe, which falls behind

[1] Supra, p. 210.
[2] *Description de l'Egypte*, pl. 2 *d*.
[3] Ibid. pl. 60 *a*.
[4] Ibid. pl. 61, pl. 62.

linen, and separates into two flaps, which are rounded off into points.[1] Women, no less than men, wear sandals; and both women and men wear occasionally anklets, besides armlets and bracelets.[2] The royal attendants have commonly two tunics instead of one, the inner of linen, the outer of muslin and transparent. In a few cases they wear also a mantle or cape.[3] Sandals are still somewhat rare; even princes and kings are sometimes represented without them, and they are but seldom worn by persons of lower rank. The practice begins of wearing them with the toes voluntarily turned up;[4] but this usage does not become general until the time of the twentieth dynasty. Some of the varieties in female apparel will be better understood by representation than description.

Egyptian turned-up Sandal.

Character & Women's Dress.

The Lovers of the great, no doubt, became more luxurious as time went on; and one king shows us the arrangement of a royal palace, or villa,[5] from which we may obtain a tolerable notion of the general character of such mansions' residences. A

[1] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 92 and 93.

[2] Ibid. pls. 93 and 95 *a*.

[3] Ibid. pl. 77 *a*.

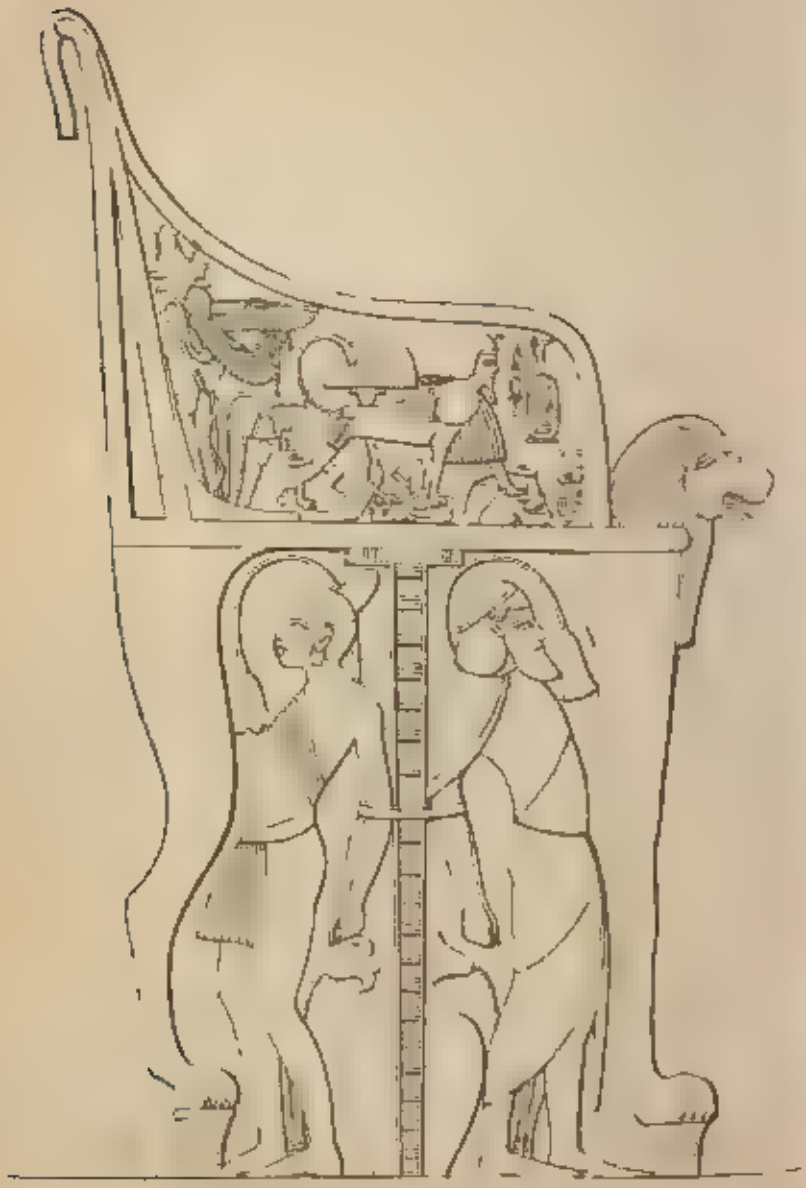
[4] Ibid. pl. 115.

[5] See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 85. Compare Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, p. xxix.

large square or parallelogram was enclosed within high walls, with pylone entrances on two or more of the sides, like those of temples in miniature. The grounds were divided out into formal courts and alleys, planted with trees in rows, the trees being of various kinds, inclusive of palms and vines. Ponds or reservoirs, rectangular in shape, were frequent, and gave the charm of freshness in a climate where without constant irrigation vegetation languishes. The house itself consisted of numerous courts, surrounded with colonnaded cloisters, and entered through pylons, with here and there a group of apartments, into which light was but scantily admitted by small windows placed high up in the walls. Much taste was shown in the designs of pillars, and especially of their capitals, which combined animal and vegetable forms, after a manner that was at once curious and pleasing.[1] The number of apartments was not great, life being chiefly passed in the colonnaded courts, and in the grounds, where a sufficiency of immediate shade could be combined with the charm of remoter light and with the free play of the atmosphere. Furniture, though not very

Remarkable Capital.

[1] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 63 a.



Egyptian Throne (time of the 18th Dynasty).

abundant according to modern notions,[1] was convenient and in good taste. Animal forms were followed in the feet of chairs, fauteuils, and ottomans,[2] and sometimes in other portions of the carved woodwork,[3] while delicate stuffs covered the cushioned portions, adding the beauty of colour to that of form.[4] The elaboration of furniture culminated in the thrones constructed for the kings,[5] and the foot-stools sometimes attached to them,[6] which were carved in the richest and quaintest fashion, either with figures of captured monarchs, or with animal or vegetable forms, or with the two combined, and must have been most curious and extraordinary works of art.

Ornamental carvings or castings of an artistic character, realistic in style, were also received as tribute from some of the subject states, and served to adorn the palaces of the Pharaohs with strange and outlandish figures. One such offering, brought to Tutankh-amen by the Ethiopians,[7] is peculiarly graceful and pleasing. It represents the giraffe or camelopard amid the palm groves of Mid Africa, and expresses with much truthfulness and spirit the form of that remarkable animal.

Graceful ornamentation also characterises the arms and chariot of the monarch, which frequently exhibit the head, or even the full form, of the lion.[8] Vases are of elegant shapes, and their covers are occasionally

[1] See above, vol. i. p. 480.

[2] Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pls. xlv. xlvi. xxxi. Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. ii. pp. 300, 301, *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 123, &c.

[3] Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. lxxv. *Denkmäler*, pt. ii. pl. 135 a.

[4] Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, p. xc. and xci., Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, frontispiece to vol. i.

[5] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 2 b, c, 76 b, 96 b, 121, &c.

[6] Ibid. pl. 105 a. Ibid. pl. 115. See woodcut 1.

[7] See above, vol. i. p. 455. Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pl. cxvi. Nos. 25 and 29, *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 105, 157 c, &c.

in the form of animals' heads.[1] Figures of animals adorn the prows of vessels; and sometimes their oars terminate in representations of the heads of men.[2]

Ornamental Carving (Ethiopic).

In social life, the introduction of the horse from Asia made a considerable change. The chariot superseded the palanquin as the ordinary mode of conveyance; and much attention was bestowed upon the equipage and the stud. Horses were great favourites, and received special names, as Ken-Amen, 'strength of Ammon,' Anta-hruta 'Anaitis pleased,' and the like.[3] The young dandy prided himself on the strength and lightness of his vehicle, the perfect shape and condition

[1] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 115 and 127 *b*.

[2] Ibid. pl. 76 *a*.

[3] See the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. v. pp. 516, 520; *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 75 &c. Brugsch holds that a *pair* of names had sometimes one name between them (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 13 and 16, 1st ed.).

of his carriage-horses, the beauty of their trappings, and his own skill in driving them.[1] Kings generally employed a charioteer, but even they did not disdain to take the reins occasionally into their own hands and conduct their own vehicles.[2] Horses bore tall plumes of ostrich feathers on their heads, had many tassels or streamers appended to them, and sometimes wore elegant housings.[3] Field sports continued to occupy the leisure hours of most well-to-do Egyptians; and the monarchs, at any rate, added to their former pleasures of this kind the chase of the lion and the elephant.[4]

A burst of literary vigour distinguishes the period. Literature had always been held in esteem in Egypt, and had furnished a fairly satisfactory career to a considerable number of persons.[5] Men of high rank, like Ptah-hotep and Sinuhe, had occasionally occupied themselves with it, and even one monarch had left 'Instructions' for his successor, which he had cast into a highly artificial and *quasi* poetic form.[6] But it is not till the reigns of Rameses II. and his son, Menephthah, that literary activity reaches its acme, and Egypt is able to boast of a whole 'galaxy' of writers.[7] The high honour done to the 'epic poet' Pentaour, whose lay of 'Rameses victorious' was inscribed on the walls of half a dozen temples,[8] may have acted as a stimulus to authorship, and have given to the pursuit of knowledge and of the art of composition an attraction which it had not possessed

[1] Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. p. 435.

[2] See above, vol. i. p. 464.

[3] Ibid. Compare the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 62, 125 a, 158, 196, and 197 d.

[4] Supra, pp. 220 and 260.

[5] Supra, pp. 91, 117, &c.

[6] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 9–19.

[7] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 151, 1st ed.

[8] Ibid. p. 45.

previously But, whatever was the cause, at least the effect is certain Under Rameses II and Menephthah literature flourished in all its branches—history, divinity, practical philosophy, poetry, epistolary correspondence, novels or tales, occupied the attention of numerous writers, and works in these various subjects rapidly accumulated A public library was established at Thebes, under a director—a high official—named Amen-em-an[1] The roll of writers included the names of Pentaour, Amen-em-apt, Panebes, Kakabu, Hor, Anna, Meriamapt, Beken-ptah, Horus, Ameneminsu, Suoro, Serpeah Nor was original composition the sole occupation of these learned persons The modern world is indebted to them for the careful copies which they made of earlier manuscripts, and owes to their indefatigable industry such works as 'The Instructions of Amenemhat,' 'The Tale of the Two Brothers,' 'The Praise of Learning,' and even the greater part of 'The Book of the Dead'[2] Like the monks of the Middle Ages, the Egyptian hierogrammates regarded it as a sacred duty to hand on to later ages the learning of the past, and, when the fragile papyrus of the early times was falling into decay, transcribed the perishing work upon fresh material

Thus, in almost all respects, in arts, in arms, in literature, in the comforts and elegancies of private life, the Egypt of the fifteenth and fourteenth centuries before our era had made great advances beyond the simplicity of primitive times, and attained a point which well deserves attention and even admiration

[1] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol i p 45

[2] The actual 'Book of the Dead,' as we have it, is taken from a papyrus of the twenty-sixth dynasty, but the oldest papyri by means of which the Book was corrected and preserved, belong to the nineteenth See Birch, *Egypt from Earliest Times*, vol v pp 140 ff

But it must not be denied or concealed that there were darker hues in the picture. The glorious achievements of the greatest of the Pharaohs in architecture and colossal statuary were not produced without much suffering among a large servile class, whose forced toil was excessive and unceasing[1]—nay, sometimes intentionally aggravated for the purpose of breaking their strength.[2] Taxation was heavy upon the lower orders of the native Egyptians, and collectors with no pity in their hearts exacted the last penny from the wretched *fellahin* by the free use of the rod.[3] Both men and women were stripped naked and subjected to the pain and indignity of the bastinado.[4] In war many cruel and barbarous customs prevailed. Captives were either reduced to slavery or put to death. The slain were systematically mutilated in order to obtain sure evidence of their numbers,[5] and conquering monarchs were not ashamed to return home from battle with the gory heads of their adversaries attached to the under part of their chariot.[6] Whether kings generally slew their more distinguished prisoners with their own hand is perhaps doubtful,[7] but there is distinct evidence that such an act was considered not unbecoming, and that a king could not only commit it, but boast of it.[8] The relations between the sexes did not improve as time went on. Polygamy on a vast scale was introduced into the royal household, indecency in apparel was common; and the profligacy

[1] See above, p. 294.

[2] Exod. ii. 11, v. 6–19.

[3] See the letter of Anumenan to Pentaour quoted in vol. i. p. 480, where he begs to be spared.

[4] A sculpture of the method of bastinado is given in Wilkinson, vol. ii. and a second represented in vol. i. p. 4[illegible]. For the application of the stick to women see the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. p. 139.

[5] See the sculptures, passim, and compare also above, vol. i. p. 474.

[6] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. p. 139.

[7] See above, vol. i. p. 474.

[8] Supra, p. 255.

of the women was such as to become a commonplace of Egyptian novels.[1] Altogether, it would seem that the acme of perfection in art was coincident with a decline in morals—a decline which combined increased savagery with advancing sensualism.

[1] *Records of the Past* vol. ii. p. 140, vol. iv. pp. 145-5, vol. vi. pp. 154-9.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE TWENTIETH DYNASTY (ABOUT B.C. 1280–1100).

Accession of Setnekht: his Birth and Parentage doubtful. His brief Reign. His Tomb. Setnekht associates his Son, Rameses, Reign of Rameses III. His Appellations. His new Arrangement of the Official Classes. His Wars—with the Shasu—with the Libyans—with the great Confederacy of the Tenuna, Shartana, Shekalsha, Tuisha, Tsakesh, Purusata, and Tekaru—with the Mashuasha—with the Negroes and Ethiopians—with the Nations of Syria. His great Works. His Hunting of Tyre. His Encouragement of Mining and Trade. Two Conspiracies against him. His Domestic History. His Personal Appearance and Character. His Tomb. Rapid Decline of Egypt after his Death—its Causes. Reigns of Rameses IV., Rameses V. Rameses VI and Mer-Tum, Rameses VII and VIII. Reign of Rameses IX, and Commencement of Priestly Encroachment. Reigns of Rameses X and VI. Rameses XII and the Princess of Bakhtan. Reign of Rameses XIII. General View of the Period. Decline of Architecture, Art, and Literature—Deterioration of Manners—slight Changes in Civilization and Habits of Life.

"Un prince glorieux eut peut-être relevé sur les armes de l'Égypte à la vaste de leur ancienne puissance." LENORMANT, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 430.

THE anarchy which supervened upon the death of Siphthah can scarcely have lasted very long. Egypt was not yet reduced to such a state of exhaustion as to tolerate for many years the complete eclipse of authority and suspension of settled government. The royal race, which had reigned with so much glory from the date of the expulsion of the Shepherds to the time of Seti II., was by no means extinct, nor had it even as

[1] See above, p. 330.

of the women was such as to become a commonplace of Egyptian novels.[1] Altogether, it would seem that the acme of perfection in art was coincident with a decline in morals—a decline which combined increased savagery with advancing sensualism.

[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 140, vol. iv. pp. 143–5, vol. vi. pp. 153 ff.

CHAPTER XXII

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Invasion of Setnekht—his Birth and Parentage doubtful. His brief Reign. His Tomb. Setnekht associates his Son, Ramesses. Reign of Ramesses III. His Appellations. His new Arrangement of the Official Classes. His Wars—with the Shasu—with the Libyans—with the great Confederacy of the Tamasau, Nuristani, Sheklesha, Tukkru, Uashesh, Perasata, and Tekaru—with the Mashauasha—with the Negroes and Ethiopians—with the Nations of Syria. His great Works. His Hunting of Trees. His Encouragement of Mining and Trade. The Conspiracy against him. His Domestic History. His Personal Appearance and Character. His Tomb. Royal Doctors of Egypt after his Death. Its Causes. Reigns of Ramesses IV., Ramesses V., Ramesses VI. and Mer-Tum. Ramesses VII. and VIII. Reign of Ramesses IX. and Commencement of Priestly Encroachment. Reigns of Ramesses X. and XI. Ramesses XII. and the Princess of Bukhtan. Reign of Ramesses VIII. General View of the Period—Decline of Architecture, Art, and Literature—Deterioration of Morals—slight Changes in Civilization and Habits of Life.

"Le prince glorieux qui jouit un instant de tout ce qui est attaché à l'Egypte à la vérité ne voit que ses avantages." LAMBERT, *Mém. de l'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 426.

The anarchy which supervened upon the death of Sokkhah[1] can scarcely have lasted very long. Egypt was not yet reduced to such a state of exhaustion as to tolerate for many years the complete eclipse of authority and suspension of settled government. The royal race, which had reigned with so much glory from the date of the expulsion of the Shepherds to the time of Seti II., was by no means extinct, nor had it even as

[1] See above, p. 339.

yet shown any signs of a serious loss of vigour and governmental ability. To find a new monarch of the old blood could not have been difficult, when a recent Pharaoh[1] had been the parent of fifty-nine sons and sixty daughters. Probably, the anarchy was caused rather by a superfluity than a lack of candidates for the royal power,[2] since the 'great men' (*uerw*) who ruled in the various towns[3] were most likely of royal descent, at any rate for the most part. It may have been difficult to decide upon the claims of the various candidates, and we can even conceive the possibility of the priests and nobles being in no hurry to make a choice, since, while the royal authority was in abeyance, their own power and dignity would be augmented. Had Egypt had no warlike neighbours, they would perhaps have temporised longer, but when a Syrian took advantage of the state of things to establish himself as prince in Egypt, and his companions robbed and plundered at their pleasure, and the Egyptian gods were treated with as little respect as the Egyptian men, and the temples were denuded of their accustomed offerings,[4] it was felt that the time had arrived for a great effort—'*the gods*,' we are told,[5] 'restored the land to its even balance, as its condition properly required. They established their son, Set-nekht, as

[1] Ramesses II (see above, p. 358).

[2] 'For as almost, says St Charles, speaking of the murder of the princes given to the great Harris papyrus, "I might do discorder civiles, qui est possible aux tribunes à une republique ou entre les prouinciaux à la cour mais, dont aucun ne pouuoit à troubler de son autorité [comparée] [illegible] [illegible]" (*Recherches pour servir à l'Histoire*, &c., p. 130.)

[3] Cf. above, p. 17, Pierret in *Transactions of Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. i. p. 385.

[4] See, p. 360.

[5] There is a general agreement as to the meaning of this phrase to be always found among the various writers of the papyrus. See Chabas, p. 31 Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 137; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 16, 1st ed.)

king over the whole land.' It is probable that we have here a covert indication that the prime instigators of the movement which placed Set-nekht upon the throne were the priests, who, as interpreters of the will of the gods, brought him forward, and succeeded in establishing him as king of all Egypt.

The birth and parentage of Set-nekht, سـت نخت, are in reality unknown.[1] It has been stated as an ascertained fact,[2] that he was the son of Seti II., but the sole foundation for this is the exhibition by Rameses III of the effigy of Seti II among the kings whom he honours and acknowledges, in the place immediately before Set-nekht.[3] This foundation is manifestly insufficient. It gives a ground for presuming that Set-nekht was of the family of Seti II.—a presumption supported by the similarity of their throne-names[4]—but none for laying down any particular relationship. Had he been actual son, it is scarcely likely that his sonship would not have been mentioned, either by himself, or by Rameses III., who gives us an account of his accession in the 'Great Harris Papyrus.'

Accepted as king by the priests, Set-nekht had nevertheless to establish his authority by prompt and vigorous measures. His son compares his activity with that of the god, Khnum-Sutech,[5] when he is roused to fury. 'He put in order,' says Rameses, 'the whole

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[1] 'Nous ignorons absolument [illegible] de Set-nekht' (Mariette, *Abydos*, tome ii. p. 54).

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. [illegible]. He calls Set-nekht 'Seti II.'s destroyer, the usurper of his throne and successor to his sons.' See also

[3] See *The Athenæum* for 1881, pp. 212 and 213.

[4] Seti II.'s throne-name was *Ra-user-khepru-setep-en-Ra*, Set-nekht's *Ra-user-khepru-meri-en-Ra*, the *meri* being the only change.

[5] Possibly a reminiscence of Set of Ombos? Brugsch translates 'the power of Set.' *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. [illegible]. Parrot, 'Khepri and Set' (*Records of the Past*, p. 147), but the rendering of Dr. Birch seems preferable.

land which was revolted: he executed the abominables who were in Ta-Mera (*i.e.* Egypt): he purified the great throne of Egypt: he was king of both the lands at the seat of Tmu (Heliopolis?): he made the faces upright which were perverted. . . . He set up the temples, (and re-established) the divine offerings for the service of the gods, as their statutes prescribe."[1]

Head of Set-nekht.

There is reason to believe that Set-nekht was advanced in years at his accession, and that he reigned but a short time. Ordinarily, the first task set himself by an Egyptian king was the construction of his tomb, and a shrewd guess may be given at the length of a reign by noting the extent and elaboration of the royal sepulchre. Set-nekht seems to have felt that he had not sufficient time before him to give him reasonable

[1] Brugsch, l.c. Chabas and Birch agree nearly.

hope of constructing for himself a final resting-place of proper dignity, and accordingly appropriated to himself the rock-tomb of Sephthah and Taouris, merely chiselling out the names of the original owners, and replacing them by his own.[1] He thus obtained, with slight trouble, a sufficiently dignified sepulchre—one 'truly princely and magnificent'[2] while at the same time he subjected no antiquary or predecessor who might be disposed to acknowledge to be legitimate.

It may have been also in the prospect of an early decease that Set-nekht, almost as soon as he was settled upon the throne, associated with himself as king[3] his son Rameses, the third prince of the name, a youth of much promise, of whom he seems to have felt no jealousy. The two are sculptured on the rocks at Ibrâhîm Medînet Aboo,[4] in a fashion which seems to point to them as on an exact equality, bearing the same royal titles and ensigns, having forms of the same size, and mentioned in the accompanying inscription exactly the same number of times. Except inscriptions of his name on the works of others, this is the sole monument which we possess of Set-nekht,[5] who had evidently not inherited the tastes of Rameses II and Seti I.

Rameses III., known to the Egyptians as Rameses hek On, 𓂋𓄿𓈖𓊪𓇋𓏏𓊖𓇋𓈖, or 'Rameses, lord of Heliopolis,' took the throne-name of Ra user-ma mer amen,

[1] See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 27 *b*. Compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 30 (2nd edition), and Lenormant, in *Transactions of Soc. of Biblical Archæology*, vol. v. p. 270.

[2] Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 46 (2nd ed.).

[3] See one of the Poet set viii. p. 47. Birch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 108, (2nd ed.).

[4] See the *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 27 *d*.

[5] I.e. the sole monument of his reign. There is a tablet at Wâdy Hamâmât which was sculptured in his fourth year, and which has on the right hand a cartouche containing his name, together with that of his wife. The name, however, is [illegible] Mariette, *Monuments d'Abydos*, p. 60.)

, or 'Sun, lord of Truth, beloved by Ammon.' It is conjectured[1] that among the people he bore the appellation of Rameses pa-nuter, or 'Rameses the god,' and that the Greeks made out of this name the Rampsenitus of their Egyptian histories. Rhampsinitus was celebrated for his riches,[2] and Rameses III. was certainly among the wealthiest of Egyptian kings, so that the identification may be allowed, though it is not one of much value. His earliest occupation after his accession seems to have been 'the restoration and demarcation of the several castes,'[3] or rather classes, into which the part of the population directly connected with the court was divided.[4] During the troublous period that preceded Set-nekht some confusion of the different orders had taken place, which Set-nekht had not had the time or the inclination to remedy. Rameses at once addressed himself to the task, and arranged the officials in five great ranks or classes, viz., 1. The *khu-en pero*, or 'ennobled of the Royal House,' persons who enjoyed the same dignity which was given to Joseph.[5] 2. The *nem*, or 'great princes,' who are thought to have been 'the governors and representatives of the king in the several nomes.'[6] 3. The native military, foot and horse, the

[1] Brugsch *History of Egypt* vol. ii. p. 141, 1st ed. Brugsch's statement is that 'proved by the monuments,' but I can find no proof. No doubt Rameses III. has for one of his titles *nefer neter* , but this title is common to all the kings from a very early period.

[2] Herod. ii. 121.

[3] Brugsch p. 140. Compare Birch *Ancient Egypt* p. 177 and Chabas. *Rech. sur...* pp. 24–30.

[4] It is evident that the classification of Rameses cannot comprise the whole of the population, since it excludes the entire agricultural and commercial classes. It was, I think, an arrangement of only such persons as were regarded as in some sense functionaries.

[5] Gen. xli. 43.

[6] Brugsch, l. c. I should not venture to give the word a wider meaning, as I regard it as nearly all high functionaries of whatever kind.

latter either identical with, or at any rate including, the chariot force; 4. The foreign mercenaries, chiefly either Shardana or Kahaka; and 5. The subordinate officers and servants. The native troops are said to have amounted to some hundreds of thousands; but this is probably an exaggeration.

Having completed these arrangements in the manner which he thought most satisfactory, Rameses turned his attention to external affairs, and set himself the task of re-establishing, so far as might be possible, the authority of Egypt over those countries and districts which had passed under the dominion of foreigners during the period of revolution. It is difficult to arrange his wars in their proper chronological order, since Rameses clearly does not follow that order in his own annals,[1] but places the most important wars first. The best modern authorities are at variance upon the subject, and the order here followed, which is that of Dr. Birch, must be regarded as to some extent uncertain.

A war with the Shasu, or Bedouins of South-western Arabia, who had again become dominant in the region between Egypt and Palestine, is thought to have had priority over the others.[2] Rameses invaded their country, destroyed the huts or cabins (*mahar*) in which they lived, killed no doubt large numbers, and carried back into Egypt a vast booty, together with numerous prisoners, whom he made over to the priestly establishments at various temples to be employed as slaves. The particular tribe of Shasu attacked in this campaign

[1] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 1[illegible]. Chabas, *Recherches*, p. [illegible] [illegible] résultats glorieux obtenus par les guerres de Ramsès sont introduites, non pas dans leur ordre chronologique, mais dans [illegible]

[2] Birch, [illegible]

[3] *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p. 45.

is called the 'Suaru,' a name in which Dr. Brugsch recognises the inhabitants of Mount Seir,[1] or the tract south and south-east of the Dead Sea, once the special country of the Edomites, or descendants of Esau.[2]

Thus successful upon the north-east, Rameses was emboldened to make a similar expedition towards the north-west. Here, on the side of Libya, a serious encroachment had taken place upon Egyptian territory during the time of trouble. The Libyans, Maxyans, Ashysta,[3] Ausers,[4] and other kindred tribes, had been so daring as to overstep the boundaries of Egypt proper, and to establish themselves along the whole of the left bank of the Nile, from Memphis to the shores of the Mediterranean. They had held possession of this tract for a number of years,[5] and had formed permanent settlements, where they lived with their wives and children, while their numerous herds grazed the rich strip of territory overflowed annually, and fertilised, by the inundation. Rameses fell upon them suddenly with a powerful force, and completely defeated them in a single great battle,[6] after which he drove the remnant beyond his borders, making, as he advanced, numerous prisoners, and even capturing the Libyan chief. Of the prisoners taken, some were confined in fortresses, others, after being branded with a red-hot iron,[7] were pressed into the naval service and forced to act as mariners on board the Egyptian fleet. Slavery was the portion of the women and children, the cattle, which

[1] *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 140, 1st ed.

[2] Gen. xxxvi. 8, 9.

[3] The hieroglyphic name is read by Dr. Brugsch as *Aamu*, by M. Chabas (*Recherches*, p. 52) as *Satuta*. Ashsta would well express the Ashtaroth who are called by P. by way of *H. A.* v. 6, Hashtaroth.

[4] In the original *Hasa*, which is well compared with Asmai (Herod. iv. 180).

[5] *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p. 48.

[6] Chabas, *Recherches*, p. 54.

[7] *Records of the Past*, l. c. viii. p. 49. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 141, 1st ed.

was too numerous to count, increased the wealth of the priest college attached to the great temple of Ammon at Thebes.

The first war with the African nations is fixed by an inscription to the fifth year of Rameses.[1] He would, apparently, have been content with the laurels gained in these two minor campaigns, and would have tempted fortune no further, had he not been forced in self-defence to meet two terrible attacks, which, in his eighth and again in his eleventh year, threatened Egypt with destruction. Few things in history are more extraordinary than the aggressive movement, which suddenly, in the eighth year of Rameses III., spread the flames of war over all the East from the skirts of Taurus to the mouths of the Nile. There is great difficulty in identifying the particular nations which took part in the expedition;[2] but it can scarcely be doubted that a league was formed between a number of widely separated peoples, partly dwellers in Asia Minor, partly inhabitants of the coasts and islands of Europe, and a combined attack organised, at once by land and by sea, having Syria for its immediate and Egypt for its ultimate object. The isles and shores of the Mediterranean gave forth their piratical hordes—the sea was covered with their light galleys, and swept by their strong oars—Tanauna, Sharuten, Shekelsha, Tulsha, Uashesh, combined their squadrons into a fleet, while Purusata and Tekaru advanced in countless numbers along the land. 'No people stood before their arms.'[3] Bursting forth from the passes of Taurus, the hordes spread themselves over Northern Syria, wasted and

[1] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 135. Chabas, *Antériorité*, p. [illegible].

[2] See Note B in the Appendix.

[3] So Rameses in the inscription translated by Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 147 et seq.).

plundered the entire country of the Khita, proceeding eastward as far as Carchemish; descended upon Palestine, and were about to press on into Egypt, when they were confronted by Rameses at the head of the Egyptian army. Calling in the aid of stratagem, the Pharaoh, who was probably outnumbered, succeeded, by means of an ambush in defeating his assailants, threw their host into confusion, and after an immense slaughter drove the remnant of the broken army from the field. But the struggle was even yet not over. Though the attack by land had failed, the allied fleet gallantly persevered. Quitting their defeated friends, the Tânaûna, with their confederates, made sail for the nearest mouth of the Nile, hoping to find it unguarded, and intending in that case to ascend the stream to Memphis, or to ravage far and wide the fertile region of the Delta. But Rameses had made preparations against this peril. He had established "a defence on the water, like a strong wall, of ships of war, of merchantmen, of boats and skiffs,"[1] in other words, he had left a fleet to guard the Pelusiac mouth of the great river, and prevent the Tânaûna from entering it. He also hurried in person to the probable scene of action, and arrived in time to take part in the great battle which frustrated the last hopes of the invaders, and placed Egypt once more in safety. While his naval force contended with the enemy in the shallow waters of the Pelusiac lagoon, he himself with four of his sons and his best warriors lent their aid to complete the discomfiture of the assailants by shooting them down with arrows from the shore.[2] If we rightly

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 145 (ed. ed.).

[2] See the representation of the engagement in the *Description de l'Égypte*, Antiquités, vol. ii. pl. 8; Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs*, pl. cxxxi.

read the king's meaning in the various inscription which he set up to celebrate his victory, the Tanauna were so far successful as to break through the opposing vessels of the Egyptians, and to force their way to the shore. But here their progress was arrested. 'A wall of iron shut them in upon the lake.' The best troops of Egypt lined the shores of the lagoon, and wherever the invaders attempted to land, they were foiled. Repulsed, dashed to the ground, hewn down at the edge of the water, they were seen 'by hundreds of heaps of corpses.' After a while resistance ceased, and large numbers were made prisoners. The empty ships, stuck fast in the Nile mud, or floating at random upon the still water, became the prize of the victors, and were found to contain a rich booty. Thus ended this remarkable struggle, in which nations widely severed and of various blends—Semitic, as one would have thought, known to each other, and separated by a diversity of interests—united in an attack upon the foremost power of the whole world, traversed several hundred miles of land or sea successfully, neither quarrelling among themselves nor meeting with disaster from without, reached the country which they had hoped to conquer, but were then completely defeated and repulsed in two great engagements: one by land, the other partly by land and partly by sea—so that 'their spirit was annihilated, their soul was taken from them.' Henceforth no one of the nations which took part in the combined attack is found in arms against the power that had read them so severe a lesson.

It might have been hoped that Egypt, raised in repute by her double victory, would now have been left

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 140, 1st ed.

in peace, and have entered on a prolonged period of repose. But no—this was not to be—her trials were not yet over. Within little more than two years of the events just narrated, another furious attack was made upon her territory by a powerful enemy, seeking, like the Tekaru and Purusata, to effect a permanent lodgment within her borders, and therefore accompanied by their wives and families, their boys, their girls, their slaves, and even their cattle.[1] This time the invaders were the Mashauasha or Maxyes, who appear to have inhabited the region called Marmarica, or the Cyrenaica, the only fertile tract interposed between Egypt and the Beylik of Tunis. Already, in the reign of Menephthah, they had made one great attack upon the more western portion of the Delta, and had been defeated with fearful slaughter by that monarch.[2] Subsequently they had adopted a system of gradual encroachment upon Egyptian territory, and had found that system tolerably successful until, in the earlier part of his reign, Rameses III drove them out. Now, in his eleventh year, probably under pressure from the west, they resolved upon a new invasion, perhaps hoping to find Egypt weakened by the recent contest. Their leaders were Kapur, and his son Mashashal, brave men who imperilled their lives in a well-nigh desperate undertaking. Compared with the Tekaru and Libuans they were an insignificant enemy; and Rameses easily defeated them in a great battle on the Canopic branch of the Nile, wherein they lost above 2,000 killed, and almost an equal number of prisoners. Kapur was captured in the course of the engagement, and after his capture

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 151, 1st ed. Compare Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 143.

[2] See above, p. 332.

put to death.[1] Mashashal surrendered to Rameses, with such troops as had survived the fight, unconditionally. It is to be hoped that he received more merciful treatment than his father.

Of the remaining wars of Rameses III we possess no details. From the representations upon his sculptures there is reason to believe that he conducted at least one campaign in the extreme south, and another in the remote north-east, and that in both his efforts were crowned with all the success that he anticipated. Beyond his southern frontier he attacked and defeated the Ethiopians, together with the negro tribes of the Tamana and the Amar.[2] In Western Asia he seems to have overrun the entire territory between Egypt and the Euphrates, carrying off as prisoners thirty-eight chiefs, among whom were those of Carchemish and Aleppo,[3] and forcing the natives generally to resume that position of dependence upon Egypt which had been originally established by the great Thothmes. We are even told[4] that he claims in some of his sculptures supremacy over Naharaim or Western Mesopotamia, as well as over Punt, Kush, and Cyprus; but it is—to say the least—doubtful whether his dominion really extended over any of these distant regions.

The reign of Rameses III extended over the long period of thirty-one years,[5] and he had thus ample time, after his defensive wars were concluded, to direct

[1] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 142–7.

[2] Rougé, p. 14. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 150–1, 1st ed. The name of the miserable land of Irsh appears at the head of a series of districts captured possibly in the campaigns of Meneptah. Abou. *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 203.

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 151–2, 1st ed. *Records of the Past*, vol. v. p. 37.

[4] Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 47–8, 3rd ed.

[5] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 145. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 143, 1st ed.

[illegible] attention to those material works and interests on which the prosperity of a country, and the fame of its monarch, to a large extent depend. Of all his constructions the most magnificent was the beautiful temple of Ammon,[1] which he built at Medinet Abou opposite Thebes, and which he adorned with painted sculptures commemorative of his great victories. Here are to be seen the series of drawings which represent the great campaign of his eighth year,[2] exhibiting him as haranguing his troops before setting out, as accompanying them upon the march, as conquering at their head in the great land battle, as hunting the lion by way of refreshment after his warlike toils, as taking part with his sons in the sea fight, and as returning in triumph with his numerous captives to Thebes. Here also is the Treasury, celebrated by Herodotus, on the walls of which are depicted and recorded his riches.[3] Here, further, is the calendar of feasts for the first five months of the Egyptian year,[4] which shows that on the average more than one day in five was held to be sacred. Though less imposing than the vast structures at Luxor and Karnak, the temple of Rameses III at Medinet Abou has considerable architectural merit, while its sculptures are executed in a lifelike and artistic style.[5] It is a work of which even a great monarch might be proud, and not unworthily crowns the long list of magnificent temples with which the Ramesside kings adorned the cities of Egypt.

Minor shrines were also erected by Rameses III at

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 155, 1st ed.

[2] See *Description de l'Egypte*, Antiquités, vol. ii. pls. 67–70; Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cxxx.

[3] Diodorus, *Historical Library*, bk. i. pt. ii. pls. 10–14, Booth, Loan.

[4] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 150, 1st ed.

[5] Ibid. p. 150.

Thebes itself to Khonsu, at This to Onuris or Hanher, at Abydos to Osiris, and at Ramses to Sutech.[1] He likewise made an addition to the great temple of Ammon at Karnak, but this building is said to be 'a very ordinary piece of architecture, almost worthless in an artistic point of view.'[2]

More important than these minor shrines, and far more useful to those who dwelt in its vicinity, was the great reservoir which he constructed in the country of Aanu,[3] by some supposed to have been at Beersheba,[4] by others near Suez,[5] which was sunk in the earth to a depth of fifty-two feet, the sides being lined with stone, and the whole basin edged with a quay, and walled in, so that only those who were admitted by the authorities could use the water.

Another work of utility in which this beneficent monarch engaged was the planting of trees. 'Over the whole land of Egypt,' according to his own account,[6] 'he planted trees and shrubs, to give the inhabitants rest under their cool shade.' In a climate like that of Egypt, and a country where indigenous trees are few, no labour could be more serviceable, or more grateful to the mass of his subjects, than that which is here indicated. Rarely do we find despotic monarchs so sympathetic with their people, so thoughtful on their behalf, so anxious to benefit them, as he would seem to have been. It was the crowning satisfaction of his life, that by his domestic administration and his military successes he had brought Egypt into such a condition, that 'the weakest woman could travel unmo-

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 164–5, 1st ed.

[2] Ibid. p. 157.

[3] *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p. 49, § 7.

[4] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 144.

[5] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 141, 1st ed.

[6] Ibid. p. 143. Compare *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p. 50, § 8.

lested whithersoever she wished; the mercenary soldiers might repose at ease in their cities; no enemy invaded the land; the people ate and drank in jubilee, their wives with them, and their children at their side; they did not look behind them (suspiciously); their hearts were content.'[1]

It was perhaps partly in his own interest, but it may have been also with a view to his subjects' advantage, that he encouraged mining operations and trade. The turquoise mines of the Sarabit-el-Khadim were once more worked during his reign, and produced abundantly.[2] A commerce was established with a copper-producing country not previously heard of, called Atuka, and the ore was brought to Egypt in vast quantities, partly on starboard, partly on the backs of asses.[3] A fleet was built near Suez and launched upon the Red Sea, which made voyages to the coast of Punt, and there exchanged the productions of 'the land of Ham (Khemi)' for the gums and spices, more especially the frankincense, of that remote region.[4] The caravan route from Coptos to Cosseir was re-opened, and the riches of the East once more flowed freely into Egypt from the various regions that border the Indian Ocean. The general wealth of the country largely increased, and, the revenue rising with the advance in the national prosperity, Rameses was able to make those enormous offerings to the principal temples, which are recorded in the document known as 'The Great Harris Papyrus.'[5]

[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. pp. 80–1.

[2] Ibid. p. 80, § 6. 'There were brought to me, over the monarch, 'morsels of sea, turquoises in numerous bags carried before me, not to be seen again while there are kings.'

[3] Ibid. p. 80, §§ 4, 5.

[4] Ibid. p. 40, §§ 8, 13. Compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 142, 1st ed.

[5] The total sum of temple gifts offered by Rameses occupies fifty-

It is with a pardonable pride that Rameses exclaims, towards the close of his long reign: 'The soil of Egypt was well satisfied under my rule—I did well to gods and men also.'[1] Having repulsed two foreign invasions, having restored the land's ancient boundaries, having encouraged commerce, having stimulated production, having even provided for his people's comfort by giving them everywhere the pleasant shade of trees, he might well expect to be popular, and to terminate his time on earth, and 'join the circle of the gods in heaven,'[2] without suffering from that curse of despotism, conspiracy. But in a corrupt society the best have most to fear, and there is reason to believe that the Egyptian court, since the introduction of polygamy by Rameses II, had become a hotbed of intrigue and vicious sensualism. Eunuchs had in all probability been given the charge of the royal harem,[3] and had brought with them into the palace the trickery and shamelessness for which that unhappy class is noted. Moreover, a belief in magic prevailed; and as in the time of the early Roman Empire,[4] so now men really thought that they could compass the death of one who stood in their way, bewitch his mind, or paralyse his limbs, by the use of figures in wax and of certain traditional *formulæ*.[5] What the *exact* object of the conspirators was does not appear, but it is certain that the reign of Rameses III. was, ere it closed, disturbed

one page in the *Records of the Past* [illegible] and xiii.

[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p. 61, l. 4.

[2] Ibid. l. 5.

[3] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 412. Compare Rawlinson, *Mon. Canon*, vol. ii. pp. [illegible] Isa. 7.

[4] See Virg. *Ecl.* viii. 80; Hor. *Epod.* xvii. 7; [illegible] Sat. vi. 6, 'Incantamina magæ, &c.

[5] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 284, 1st ed. Many of the *formulæ* are given in the *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. pp. 121–6, and vol. x. pp. 87–8.

by a conspiracy in which many of the highest court officials and a certain number of the royal concubines were mixed up,[1] and which can scarcely have aimed at anything less than the death or deposition of the monarch. The chief conspirator seems to have been a certain Bakakamen, house-steward, or major domo of the palace. His position giving him access to all parts of the royal residence, he succeeded in drawing over to his interests a number of councillors, scribes, and commanders of the mercenary troops, as well as certain women of the harem, and among them a lady named Ti or Tiaa, whom Dr Brugsch believes to have been a wife of the king.[2] Among the male conspirators was one who professed a knowledge of magical arts, and who not only furnished Bakakamen with formulæ that were supposed to ward off ill-luck, but supplied him also with waxen images, some of men and some of gods, the proper use of which would, it was believed, produce paralysis.[3] Thus much we learn from our documents—the rest we can only conjecture. Tiaa had a son engaged in the conspiracy, named Pentaour. Was it the intention of the conspirators to paralyse and then kill the monarch—to proclaim Pentaour as his successor, and make Tiaa queen-mother? Or did they merely wish to reduce the king to imbecility, and themselves exercise the royal authority in his name? It is remarkable that nothing is said of

[1] The historic text of the Turin papyrus which contains the account of the trial was first translated into French by M. Devéria in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1866. Since then a translation into English has been made by M. Le Page Renouf (*Records of the Past*, vol. viii. pp. 57–68), and one into German by Dr Brugsch. The latter has been done into English by the late Mr Danby Seymour, and will be found in the translation of Dr Brugsch's work as often quoted in these volumes (vol. ii. pp. 155–161).

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 105, 1st ed.

[3] *Ibid.* p. 104.

any intention to seek the king's life; but there is an Oriental reticence on the subject of death where kings are concerned, which may account for this omission.

After the conspiracy had reached a certain point, but before it had effected anything, by some means or other it was discovered. Too many persons had been taken into counsel for secrecy to be long maintainable; and if the conspirators really trusted to their subsidiary enchantments, they may have enjoyed unprofitably. A week, the plot was found out. Some four-and-twenty persons were immediately arrested, and Rameses appointed a court of twelve high functionaries to try them. It is to his credit that, in giving them their commission, he warned them against unfairness towards the accused. 'Regarding the discourses which are held about these men,' he said, 'which are (to me) unknown, you shall *institute an inquiry* about them. They shall be brought to a trial, *to see if they deserve death* . . . If that which has been done was actually done by them, then let their doings be upon their own heads. I am the guardian and protector for ever, and I bear of the royal insignia of justice, in presence of the good king, Ammon Ra, and in presence of the Prince of Eternity, Osiris.'[1]

We have no account of the proceedings at the trial. The report which the judges made on concluding their investigations is a formal and dry document, giving *seriatim* the names of the prisoners, the exact degree of their participation in the conspiracy, and the sentence which was passed upon them. It appears that thirteen persons, including Bakakamon and Pentaour, were adjudged to have been principals in

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 158-9, 1st ed. Compare *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. pp. 97-8.

the conspiracy, while twelve others were condemned as accessories, having been aware of what was going on and given no information to the authorities. No difference, however, was made in the punishment of the two classes. All equally suffered death, the sentence upon them being that they should kill themselves with their own hand. We learn by this that 'the happy despatch,' which we have been accustomed to associate especially with one somewhat barbarous kingdom, was an institution of the Egyptians.[1]

Lighter punishments were inflicted on the females who had compromised themselves, and on some of those who had turned king's evidence, but had failed to make satisfactory depositions. The latter underwent mutilation, having their noses and their ears cut off.[2] The former seem to have been condemned to the penal servitude of keeping a beer house,[3] which was thought sufficient punishment for ladies of delicacy and refinement.

Finally, it would seem that, while the inquiry was in progress, the complicity in the conspiracy of some of the very persons appointed to conduct the investigation was detected. A brief appendix[4] to the report of the judges states, that five persons, of whom three had been previously mentioned as members of the court, were also adjudged to have been accomplices in the crime, and were sentenced to expiate their guilt by death. What this strange transformation of the judges into the condemned the trial terminated, and

[1] Not only was it was one institutions of Athens, and may claim, so far to be on a par with civilized, a place with them.

[2] On the employment of punishments in this kind in ancient times, see the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii. p. 247, 2nd ed.

[3] *Records of the Past*, vol. v. p. 66, § 1 and note.

[4] Ibid. §§ 2–7.

Rameses, relieved from the fears and doubts that must have harassed him during the contumacy, proceeded to secure the tranquillity of the kingdom in the event of his death by making arrangements for the succession.

The legitimate wife of Rameses III. was a certain Hest, or Isis, who bore also the foreign name of Hemarozath, and was the daughter of a certain Helbanrozanath. It is suggested that she was a Hittite or an Assyrian princess,[1] but the latter supposition, at any rate, is improbable.[2] We are not accurately informed whether she was the mother of any of the king's numerous children, but it is decidedly certain that she was not the mother of all, since they consisted of eighteen sons and fourteen daughters.[3] Rameses, it is clear, must have had many secondary wives, each of whom no doubt wished that one of her own children should succeed him. He appears, however, to have been swayed by no partiality or favouritism, but to have simply admitted the claims of nature, and given the preference to his first born. Prince Rameses Meriammon, hitherto commander of the infantry, was selected by his father from among his numerous sons, and associated with himself upon the throne under the title of Rameses-hak-maa-Ammon,[4] or 'Rameses, Lord of Truth, beloved by Ammon.' His other sons were given high military or priestly dignities, and, in course of time, as many as four of them attained to the throne.

In person Rameses III. appears to have been much

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. [illegible]

[2] The names are quite unlike Assyrian names, and have not even any clear Semitic derivation.

[3] Brugsch, *l.c.*

[4] Lepsius, *Konigsbuch*, Taf. xxxvii. No. 704.

favoured by nature. His figure in the sculptures is noble and dignified,[1] his features pleasing, his expression amiable. Something of the feminine look, which we observe in so many of the Egyptian monarchs,[2] characterises the countenance, which is more remarkable for sweetness than for any signs of strength or energy. In his actions, however, the king showed

Head of Rameses III.

a firmness and a daring which his features belie, and proved himself a worthy descendant of Rameses the second and Sethos the first, of the third Thothmes and the third Amenophis. Less distinguished certainly than these greatest of Egyptian monarchs, he yet

[1] *Description de l'Egypte*, Antiquités, pl. 2, pls. 210, 211; Rosellini, vol. 2, pls. 10, 12. [2] See above, pp. 264 and 271.

inherited something of their spirit, and, in an age when decadency had set in, it was his lot to produce the period of Egyptian greatness, and to reserve the glories of a summer time that was gone by in an autumnal burst of splendour, if short lived, sunshine. It is perhaps true[1] that, like many an Oriental monarch, he furnished the glory of his military career by several indulgences within the walls of the palace, and thus has exposed himself to those attacks which we find to have been directed against him by the caricaturists of his day. But, if we remember how the great moral ages are preserved by the scurrilous abuse of the meaner, the bad account, we shall hesitate to attach serious importance to the 'custom of caricature' until it rests upon direct testimony[2] which, after all, may be only an accidental survivor of a class of works similar to those which in modern Europe have reduced each sovereign, or each ministry, successively to

After a reign which exceeded thirty-one years, the third Rameses was gathered to his fathers. He had prepared for himself a tomb of no great pretensions in the rocky mountain opposite Thebes, which was at this time the cemetery of the kings. It consisted of the usual long tunnel in the rock, destitute of architecture, passages, and halls, and not presenting a feature, unless it were that of the ranges of sculptured chambers, in which, among other things, all the possessions of the king, such as weapons, household furniture, and the like, were represented in sculptured pictures, just as they were once actually deposited in the rooms appropriated for them in the palace. A series of sarcophagi,

[1] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 14. [2] [illegible] *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 443.

the lid of which is now to be seen at the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, was placed in the innermost chamber, and received the royal remains.

With Rameses III. terminated the palmary period of Egyptian greatness and glory, which, commencing with Aahmes, the founder of the eighteenth dynasty, about B.C. 1600, continued for above three centuries, till the death of the son of Setnekht, about B.C. 1280.[1] It is, of course, readily intelligible that a period of prosperity should be succeeded by one of decline, since the same law which governs mankind seems to have been appointed to rule also the destinies of nations, but it is difficult to understand, and account for, the suddenness and completeness of the collapse in this particular case, where all the vital powers seem at once to have failed, though the failure was not total, and a long and lingering decay preceded the final dissolution. The lack of contemporary monuments, which is one out of many signs of the decline, adds to the difficulty of tracing out the causes which led to it, and must render any attempt at their analysis to a considerable extent speculative and conjectural.

The strength of Egypt had, from the first, consisted in its isolation and its unity. A single homogeneous people was spread along the valley of the Nile from the tower of Syene to the shores of the Mediterranean. The people was almost without neighbours, since the Nile valley was shut in on either side by arid tracts very sparsely inhabited, the sea bounded

[1] The calendar set up by Rameses III. at Medinet Abou ought to prove that he ascended the throne in B.C. 1311 (Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 444). If this be so, and he died in his forty-second year, his death would fall in B.C. 1270, or 1269. The next monarch, after a reign of B.C. 1250, turns reigns after this (Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 61), is in accordance

it upon the north; the Nubian desert almost cut it off from the south. United by the ties of a common religion, a common language, common ideas and customs, the people was emphatically one, had a strong national sentiment, disposed foreigners, and held itself immensely superior to all the other nations of the earth. For centuries upon centuries the policy of isolation was maintained—the negroes were not allowed to descend the Nile[1] or the Greeks to ascend it[2]—the Soudan and the Sinaitic peninsula were the limit of the Egyptian arms—Europe and Asia were unknown regions to the sons of Ham—foreign manners, foreign ideas, foreign gods were either unheard of or studiously ignored. But with the accession of the eighteenth dynasty all this was changed. The Thothmases and Amenophises carried their arms deep into Asia—Hatasu encouraged commerce with Punt—Seti and Rameses II. filled Egypt with foreign captives—later monarchs established large corps of foreign mercenaries—the 'gilded youth' of the upper circles took to pedagogues as foreign travel[3]—and, as a natural result, foreign manners crept in—the language was corrupted by a large admixture of Semitic words—the Pantheon was invaded by a host of Semitic or Scythic deities, and the old national exclusive spirit, sapped and weakened by these various influences, decayed and died away.

A second cause of the decline would seem to have been the fact that the Ramesside race was exhausted, and that, the longer it continued, the weaker were the princes born of the Ramesside stock and selected by hereditary descent to rule over Egypt. It is the fatal

[1] See above, p. 170.
[2] Herod. ii. 178.
[3] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. pp. 139, 140. On the date of the Travels see Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 164, 2nd ed.

drawback on the many advantages of Egyptian monarchy, that a time must arrive when the original vigour of the ruling race, whatever it was, must fail, its powers decline, and unfitness for its position come to be developed. 'Force is a ruin on families,' says Aristotle very acutely;[1] 'after a few generations, transcendent genius develops into madness, while sound parts become stupidity.' The Egyptian *physique* declines manifestly

Head of Ramses IV

in the monuments as time goes on, and by the date of Ramses IV. has reached a point beyond which it can scarcely be much deterioration.

Other ground of internal weakness, and therefore cause of decline, is to be found in an essential feature of the Egyptian political system, whereby a considerable but undefined power was lodged in the

[1] Aristot. *Rhet.* ii. 15.

hands of the priests. A hierarchic system may no doubt be as long-lived as any other, but a system that is half hieratic, half monarchical, carries within it the seeds of its own destruction, and contains an element of weakness from which a thorough-going despotism is free. A time was sure to arrive, earlier or later, in Egypt, when the *pontifex* and the *regale* would come more or less into collision, when the kings, growing jealous of the priests, would seek to curtail their powers at the risk of internal revolution, or the priests, losing respect for the kings, would stealthily creep into their places. The actual march of events in Egypt was in the latter direction. The hierarchs, the high-priests of the god Ammon at Thebes, gradually increased in power, usurped one after another the prerogatives of the Pharaohs, by degrees reduced their authority to a shadow, and ended with an open assumption not only of the functions, but of the very insignia of royalty.[1]

A space of nearly two centuries elapsed, however, before this change was complete. Ten princes of the name of Rameses, and one called Meri-Tum, all of them connected by blood with the great Ramesside house, bore the royal title and occupied the royal palace, in the space between B.C. 1280 and B.C. 1100. Egyptian history during this period is almost wholly a blank. No military expeditions are conducted—no great buildings are reared—art almost disappears—inscription holds her tongue. If at any time the silence is broken, if the stones occasionally lift up their voice and speak, it is either in dry literatures of old and well-worn official phrases and *formulæ*, or in amatorious

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. pp. 178, 191, 3rd ed. Lenormant, pp. 440–7.

plagiarists from the compositions of an earlier age. The writers of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, aware that they are destitute of originality, contentedly reproduce, with slight changes, the masterpieces of the fourteenth and fifteenth.[1]

The immediate successor of Rameses III was his eldest son, Rameses IV., who bore the throne-names of Hak-maat-ne Mamu.[2] Nothing is known of him except that he worked with great vigour the quarries of the valley of Hammamat,[3] and has left behind him excellent varieties of hard stone. What use he made of these materials it is impossible to say, since neither any great edifice, nor any large number of small ones, bear his name. He set up some insignificant sculptures in the great temple of Ammon at Karnak,[4] and made some small additions to his father's temple of Khonsu at Thebes, but beyond these, and some workmanship in the Hammamat region, no monuments of his reign have been identified.[5] It appears by the Hammamat inscriptions that he held the throne for at least eighteen years, and we may consequently assign him the space between B.C. 1280 and B.C. 1260.

The successor of Rameses IV. was neither his son nor his brother, nor even perhaps a member of the Rameside family. He took the quite new throne-name of Ammon-Ur-khopesh-ef, but also called himself Rameses, and is known as Rameses V.[6] Some

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 475, 1st ed.

[2] Ibid. p. 497; Lepsius, *Konigsbuch*, Taf. xxxvii. and Taf. xxxix., No. 601 and 603 *bis*.

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 497-71, 1st ed.; Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 147.

[4] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. ds. 220-222.

[5] We also have a small tomb in the Bibân-el-Molûk, which is a work of some importance (see Lepsius, *Ornaidon des Grabes Konig Ramses IV.* Berlin, 1867).

[6] Lepsius, *Konigsbuch*, Taf. xxxix. No. 606.

suppose him to have been a descendant of Siptah,[1] but this is wholly uncertain. His only records are his tomb in the Biban-el-Moluk, afterwards appropriated by his successor, Rameses VI., and a single inscription at Silsileh, couched in official terms, which represents all Egypt as enraptured at his coronation, and the country as flourishing under his rule.[2] It is certain that no dependence can be placed on such self-laudation, and not improbable that it covers an uneasy feeling, on the part of the monarch who has resorted to it, that his rule is the reverse of popular.

On the death of the usurper the throne was regained by the Rameside family, and occupied (as it seemingly by two princes, sons of Rameses III., who ruled successively.[3] These were Rameses, his second, and Mer-Tum, his seventh son, who were brothers of high priest at Ra-m Heliopolis. It is suggested that while Rameses VI. reigned in Thebes and bore sway over the Upper Country, his younger brother held his court at the City of the Sun, and ruled over the Delta in the name which the elder prince appropriated from his usurping predecessor, an astronomical setting is thought to furnish the date of B.C. 1240 for the time of its ornamentation,[4] so that that year may be regarded as included in the sixth Rameses's reign. No historical events can be ascribed to it, but we have evidence that the Egyptian dominion still extended over the distant South, where a "Prince of Kush" still rules as the

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. ii. p. 1 (Eng. trans.); vol. iii. p. 171.

[2] Ibid. pp. 171-2. *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. p. 225 A.

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. ii. pp. 172-3 (Eng. trans.). Others make Mer-Tum between Rameses VIII. and Rameses IX. (Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 147).

[4] Birch, *Ancient Egypt* p. 147. Brugsch, *History of Egypt* vol. ii. p. 173 (Eng. trans.). The [illegible] of the zodiac [illegible] Dendera temple, [illegible]

Pharaoh's viceroy, with Amons of the various districts under him, and the Pharaoh's sacerdotality was marked by the erection of statues in his honour, and the settlement upon them in perpetuity of landed estates.[1]

Conjointly with these two princes, or after their decease, two other sons of Rameses II assumed the royal title, and are ranked as Pharaohs under the names of Rameses VII and Rameses VIII. The latter bore the throne-name of Set-hi-khopesh-ef,[2] which would seem to indicate that he was a votary of Sutekh, whose worship was, it is clear, always held in respect by the Rameside monarchs. Nothing is recorded of Rameses VII and VIII beyond their names. We may perhaps assign them, conjecturally, the space between BC 1230 and BC 1220.

With Rameses IX we had either to the immediate issue of Rameses III, and descend, at least a generation, to a grandson or great grandson of the last warlike monarch. This king took the throne-name of Nefer-ka-re-set-pen-re,[3] and held the throne for at least nineteen years,[4] thus bringing us nearly to the close of the thirteenth century. His reign is remarkable for two most extraordinary circumstances. One of these was the trial of a number of sacrilegious malefactors, who had invaded the sanctity of the royal burial-places, plundered the royal mummies of their golden ornaments, burnt the coffins, and thrown the corpses on the ground. Kings and queens had alike suffered. Antefs of the eleventh dynasty, Sebak-nefrus of the thirteenth, a queen Isis, a Ra-Seqenen, and even an

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 174 [illegible]
[2] [illegible] Table at end of vol. ii.
[3] Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Taf. xl. No. 512.
[4] Papyri mention year of Rameses IX as [illegible] year the same month. Ulrici, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 145.

Amenophis, the first of the name.[1] All belief in the divinity that hedged a king, according to the Egyptian religious system, must have passed away when a Theban society was formed for the special purpose of secretly opening and robbing the tombs of the kings, in which even sacerdotal persons took a part.[2] We may perhaps trace in the proceedings a concealed purpose of bringing royalty into contempt; we cannot be mistaken in gathering from them a weakening of the old superstition which viewed the kings as gods. As yet, however, the new ideas had the general public sentiment against them. Opinion was greatly shocked by the disclosures made, and officials of the highest rank were summoned to form a court of inquiry which should investigate the business, and inflict condign punishment upon the guilty. Amenhotep, the high-priest of the Great Temple of Ammon at Thebes, the chief of the Egyptian hierarchy, presided over the court, and, after acquitting a certain number of the accused, but perhaps the least guilty, condemned eight persons as the real culprits, who were either beheaded or else put to death.[3]

The other novelty, which documents of the time put before us, is the new position, relatively to the king, that the high-priest of the Theban Ammon seems now to begin to occupy. An acute observer, further well on the monumental evidence, makes indeed the remark, that, "*even in the time of Rameses III.*, the holy fathers, who bore the exalted dignity of chief priest in the temple-city of Ammon, were always coming more and more into the foreground of Egyptian history

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. pp. 400-401 (Eng. trans.); Chabas, *Mélanges Egyptologiques*, 3me série.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 182.

[3] Rawlinson, *Ancient Egypt*, i. 200.

Their influence with the kings assumed, step by step, a growing importance.[1] But even he does not note any tangible change until the reign of Rameses IX.,

Head of Rameses IX.

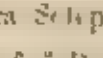
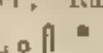
when for the first time the high-priest of Ammon at Thebes steps forward as the great guarantee, protector, and restorer of his shrine, and, whereas formerly

[1] For such *History of Egypt* vol. ii. p. 75 [illegible] quote Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3me série, vol. ii. pp. 1-2, Birch, *Ancient Egypt* p. 150, Lenormant, *Manual of History Ancient*, vol. i. p. 440. The position of the priests of Ammon at this time has been compared to that of the Mayors of the Palace under the later Merovingian kings of France.

was the priests who expressed in the name of the gods their thanks to the kings for the temple buildings at Thebes. Now this is reversed, and it is the king who testifies his gratitude to the chief priest of Amun for the care bestowed on his temple by the erection of new buildings, and the improvement and maintenance of the older ones.[1] The office of high priest has become hereditary, and in the tenth year of Rameses nefer-kara sotepenra, Amen-hotep, who has recently succeeded his father, Rameses meri-Amun, appears on the walls of the temple as the first person in a scene where the king is simply to assign his reward, and to see it conferred upon him by his great expectations. A similar supremacy still attaches to the Pharaoh, who is 'the terror of arrogance, and whom Amen-ra frequently acknowledges to be 'his love,' but practically there can be no doubt that Amen-hotep plays the principal part. He is 'the restorer of the kings,' he has 'found the holy house of Amun in a tottering to decay, and has taken in hand its restoration,' he has 'strengthened its walls,' has 'built it anew,' has 'made its columns,' has 'erected in the gates the great folding doors of acacia wood.'[2] The high priest is the active mover in the whole business, the king is passive, he looks on, 'sees and admires what is done,' approves it, and rewards it. But the initiative has passed into the hands of his nominal subject, and it is easy to see that ere long there will be a division of the royal authority, and the Pharaoh will possess its shadow, the high-priest its substance.

Still, the royal authority in Egypt died hard, and, as we shall find, soon revived. The reign of Rameses IX.

[1] Brugsch, Loc. [2] Ibid. p. 170. [3] Ibid. pp. 189 f.

brings us, as we have seen,[1] to the close of the thirteenth century. It is not until the opening of the eleventh that we find the high priests of Ammon completely established in the position of actual rulers of the country. An entire century thus passed between the first beginning of serious encroachment upon the Pharaohs' position and the transfer of their authority to the priests of Ammon. During this century four other kings, bearing the name of Rameses, and distinguished by special epithets, seem to have occupied the throne—viz., Rameses X, bearing the further names of Khepermara Setep-en-ra,  , and Ammon-hikhopeshef,[2] Rameses XI, known as Sekha-en-ra Menmaatra  ; Rameses XII, called User-ma'at-ra Setep-en-ra; and Rameses XIII.[3] The two first Rameses reigned at least thirty-three years,[4] and the thirteenth, at least twenty-six years,[5] thus holding the throne, between them, for considerably more than half a century. Their predecessors may have been almost as long-lived; and the four reigns may well have occupied the space between B.C. 1200 and B.C. 1100.

One event only can be assigned to this obscure period. An inscription upon the temple of Khonsu, founded at Thebes by Rameses III, relates a tale which must undoubtedly have had an historical foundation, though its details may have received much amplification and embellishment. The document belongs to

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[1] See p. 392.

[2] Lepsius, *Konigsbuch*, Taf. xl. No. 517.

[3] Ibid. Taf. xli. No. 518.

[4] Ibid. Taf. xli. No. 519.

[5] Rameses XIII was known as Mer-en-ptah Setep-en-ptah, as Shemsu-ma as Neter-hak-an. See Lepsius, *Konigsbuch*, Taf. xl. No. 522.

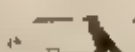
[6] *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 60, § 28. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 161 (2d ed.). Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 153.

Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 160 (2d ed.).

the time of Rameses XII. It relates that, once upon a time, when the prince was in the land of Nahr,[1] collecting the revenues or tributes that were annually rendered to Egypt by the territorial chiefs of those parts, one of them, called the chief of Bakhtan, placed his daughter among the tribute-bearers; and the king's attention being attracted to her beauty, which was so great that he immediately made her his wife, and advanced her to the first rank in his harem. Some time after this, Rameses XII. was in Thebes, performing his religious duties in the great temple of Ammon, when an extraordinary embassy from his father-in-law sought his presence, and requested that the Egyptian monarch would send the best skilled man of his court to recover the queen's sister, Bentresh, who was struck down by a sad bereavement. Rameses complied. The man supposed to be most skilful, the scribe, Thothemheb, was selected, and sent back with the envoys to Bakhtan, with orders to place at the disposal of the chief of the country the knowledge that he possessed at the disposal of the chief of the country. We are told that, on his arrival, he pronounced the case of Bentresh to be one of possession by an evil spirit;[2] but that after various attempts he was forced to acknowledge himself unable to cope with the demon. Upon this it would seem that he returned to Egypt, and the chief of Bakhtan sought assistance elsewhere. But eleven years later[3]

[1] For the full name, see *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. [illegible] of Rameses. *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 134-7. Ed. 1881.

[2] See Lenormant, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 140. [illegible] The word [illegible] was not [illegible] rightly rendered by Sharpe, which



[3] In the [illegible] year of [illegible] Rameses XII. (about B.C. [illegible])

he once more had recourse to his son-in-law. This time his envoy requested that the god Khonsu, the expeller of evil spirits, might be sent from Thebes to Bakhtan[1] for the relief of the possessed princess. Ramesses hesitated, but after consulting the oracular shrine of Khonsu in the Theban temple, and receiving a favourable reply, he despatched the image of Khonsu in a sacred ark borne on the shoulders of ten priests,[2] and escorted by a troop of cavalry, from Thebes to Bakhtan, in order that a second attempt might be made to cure the princess. After a journey which lasted seventeen months,[3] the ark arrived, was joyfully received by the afflicted prince, and brought into the presence of his daughter, from whom it at once expelled the demon. Great joy now prevailed in Bakhtan for the spirit departed,[4] and the recovery of the princess was complete. It might have been expected that the ark which had wrought the cure would have been immediately restored to its Egyptian owners with grateful thanks for the loan of it. But the power shown seemed to the prince of Bakhtan so valuable that he was loth to lose possession of so great a treasure. Accordingly he resolved to retain the ark in his own capital, and actually had it in his keeping for three years and nine months,[5] at the end of which time he was induced to relinquish it under the following circumstances. He dreamed that he saw the god

[1] Requests for gods were not unusual in the ancient world. Herod. v. 87; vii. 141 &c. The god was identified with the image, or at any rate supposed to work through it. A special power was thought to attach to some images.

[2] For a representation, see Dr Birch's *Ancient Egypt*, p. 151.

[3] *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 50, § 17.

[4] Ibid. § 22.

[5] So Brugsch, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 138 [transl.]. Dr Birch reads in *Records of the Past*, vol. v. p. 46, § 21 a date the period of three years, four months, and five days.

Khonsu in the shape of a golden sparrowhawk, quit the ark, and fly away in the direction of Egypt. Waking up in a state of great agitation,[1] he summoned the priest attached to the ark, and, declaring to him what he had seen, announced his determination to send the holy structure back, and desired him to make the needful preparations. The return journey seems to have taken even a longer time than the journey from Egypt, for it was not until the thirty-third year of Rameses[2] that the ark of Khonsu was once more safely restored to its proper chapel in the temple at Thebes.

The interest of this narrative is considerable and of a varied character. If we accept the identification of 'Nehar' with Naharaim, we shall have to regard it as indicating the retention to a late date as that of B.C. 1138 of Egyptian supremacy over Mesopotamia,[3] and we must ask ourselves, Who is this king of Bakhtan who dwells at such a remote distance from Egypt, yet regards himself as in some sort an Egyptian tributary, and where is this Bakhtan, not elsewhere mentioned in the Egyptian records, yet apparently a place of considerable consequence? Bagistan (now Behistun) and Ecbatana (now Hamadan) have been suggested,[4] but these seem too remote, and the writer inclines to think that a town of no great importance in Syria, called elsewhere Bakh or Bakhi, may be

[1] The phrase used is one denoting 'mental perturbation' and not at all implying intellectual harm. 'Astonishment' agitated and concerned are. According to the general use of such a physical affection would be intended.

[2] *Records of the Past*, vol. v. p. 40, § 28.

[3] So Lenormant (*Manual of History*, Ancient, vol. i. p. 44).

[4] Suggested by M. de Rougé (see Brugsch) but the latter writer has retracted his conjecture (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 167, 1st ed.).

intent.[1] Some have gone so far as to suppose that the "prince of Bakhtan" who detained the ark was Tiglath Pileser I, the first great Assyrian conqueror[2] (about B.C. 1150-1110); but, besides the want of correspondence between the names "Bakhtan" and "Asshur," the actual position of the prince of Bakhtan in relation to Egypt is one which would not suit Tiglath Pileser occupying Tiglath pileser was an independent and warlike monarch whose sway (about the close of the twelfth century B.C.) over the tract between Babylonia on the one hand and Thurnat on the other. He perhaps on one occasion made Egypt pay him tribute,[3] and it is even possible that he should, a little time before or a little time after, have paid tribute himself to Egypt, and sent his daughter to be a secondary wife of the Egyptian monarch. The greatness of Assyria began about B.C. 1300; and it is unlikely that Egypt maintained her Mesopotamian conquests much beyond that date. We have already noted the decline of the Egyptian power in Syria,[4] and the improbability that even Ramses III possessed any real authority in the countries east of the Euphrates. Supposing that he did, his weak successors must almost certainly have lost it. Cushan-Rishathaim, who was made vassal king of Mesopotamia within a century of the Exodus,[5] must have been living anterior to Ramses XII., and Egyptian rule, even over Syria, must have been lost before he could conquer Palestine.

[1] Poole, *History of Egypt*, p. 158.

[2] Mr. Pinches, in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* for 1892, p. 410.

[3] The capital city of Tiglath-Pileser I was called Assur, as well as his country.

[4] *Inscription of Tiglath-Pileser I*, in *Records of the Past*, old series, vol. iii. p. 10, par. 17. In regard, however, to the Syrian affairs of this passage really represents Egypt.

[5] Judges iii. 8.

We incline therefore to believe that 'Nehrin' in the tablet of Rameses XII. is not Naharaim, that Bakhtan is not a country very remote from Egypt, and that the long time spent upon the road by the envoys who carried the ark was owing to the difficulty of conveying so large and unsteady a structure on the shoulders of a few priests along the rough tracks of the country.

The Rameses who closes the long list, and is reckoned the last king of the twentieth dynasty, was Rameses XIII., who, as if an exuberant amount of titles could make up for a deficiency in power, called himself Men-maat-ra, Sotep-en-ptah, Smenmas, Meri-amon, Rameses, Neter-nak-on.[1] His principal monuments are found in the temple of Khonsu at Thebes, which he appears to have delighted in ornamenting.[2] The other indications of his reign are scattered and fragmentary,[3] they scarcely contain a single notice of historic interest. By one of them, however, we learn that, weak and insignificant as he was, Rameses XIII. held the throne of Egypt for above twenty-six years.

The decline of Egypt under this dynasty was not merely a decline in power. Architecture, glyptic art, literature, morals—all suffered, and suffered almost equally. After the death of Rameses III. not a single great building was set on foot by any of the Egyptian kings, much less was any architectural novelty attempted. The monarchs contented themselves with making small additions to old edifices, having no pretension to originality, and inferior in every respect to the buildings whereto they were appendages. The

[1] Lepsius, *Auswahl*, *Inf.* xx. No. 592. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 15, 1st ed.

[2] *Description de l'Égypte*, pl. 83.

[3] They occur at Karnak (*ibid.* pl. 27), El-Kab (*ib.* pl. 29 *bis*), Abd-el-Qurna (*ibid.* pl. 30), and the Ramesseum (*ibid.* pl. 34).

grand features of ancient times were not even imitated. No more hypostyle halls, like those at Luxor and Karnak—no more gigantic colossi—no more mighty obelisks. The greatest works which the kings undertook were their tombs. These were still 'hypogees,' or subterraneous galleries excavated in the rock, and divided into a number of halls, passages, and chambers. They still attained a considerable length, and were ornamented with interesting paintings. But neither in the size nor in the finish of their ornamentation did they rival the similar works of former days—such as the tombs of Amenôthis III., of Seti I., and Rameses II. They ceased to have any architectural features, such as columns, or piers, or chambers with arched roofs.[1] Even the paintings were, on the whole, less interesting than those of an earlier age.

In Egyptian art, connoisseurs detect a falling off as early as the latter part of the reign of Rameses II.,[2] but the decline is not palpable until the reign of Rameses III. is past. Then the 'grand style' disappears. The great compositions, covering entire pylons, and comprising hundreds of figures, come to an end—no new scenes are portrayed—rather, a wearisome sameness, a repetition *usque ad nauseam* of the same stereotyped religious groups, meets us and disgusts us. If there is any change, it is in the grossness of the representations, which increases.[3] Again, the range of art is narrower. Domestic and military scenes almost drop out; but few animals are depicted; we have no

[1] Lepsius, *Handbook of Egyptian Architecture*, vol. i. p. 244. The tombs of the Ramesside period have pylons and columns, but no halls, and no arched roofs.

[2] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 480.

[3] See the *Description de l'Egypte*, pl. 20 *bis*, fig. 2 *b*, *c*, *d*, *e*, *f*, *g*, and compare Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, cxxx. No. 4 A, B, which belongs to the reign of Rameses IX.

banquets, no gardens, no fishing, no fowling, no games. And the drawing certainly deteriorates; there is a feebleness and clumsiness in the outlines, a rigidity in the forms, as well as a want of variety, which are unpleasing.

Statuary also falls off. The figures become unduly elongated, and are finished with less care.[1] They have no longer the truth to nature which is possessed by the earlier statues, which they are certainly in no respect excelled. Moreover, unless we include statuettes, they become, comparatively speaking, rare, as if they had gone out of fashion, and were no longer demanded from the artists.

The decline of literature is even greater and more surprising. After the galaxy of talent which clustered about the reigns of Rameses II. and Menephthah,[2] after the masterpieces of Pentaour, Kakamu, Nebsenet, Enna, and others, suddenly there comes a time when literature is almost dumb, when "the true poetic inspiration appears to have vanished, and the dry official tone to have taken its place;"[3] when abstracts of trials,[4] lists of funeral names,[5] tiresome enumerations in the greatest detail of gifts to the gods,[6] together with fulsome praises of the kings, either by themselves or others,[7] form the substance of the written compositions which survive, and which we have every reason to believe a fair sample of the literary produce of the age. Not a single name of an Egyptian writer be-

[1] Birch, *Guide to Galleries*, p. 17.
[2] See above, p. 356.
[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. [illegible].
[4] See *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. pp. 57–65; Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 3me série, t. i. pp. 4–[illegible], vol. ii. pp. [illegible]–&c. &c.
[5] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. [illegible], 17[illegible], &c., &c.
[6] *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. pp. 34–70, vol. viii. pp. 14–46.
[7] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 17[illegible], 2[illegible]; *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. pp. 22 & 64, vol. viii. pp. 7–14.

longing to this dreary period remains on record, not a single work of imagination can be ascribed to it. Astronomy may ultimately owe something to the tables of the hours and of the risings of the stars which decorate the tomb of the sixth Rameses in the Biban-el-Moluk,[1] but literature, in the proper sense of the word, can never receive any enrichment from the cold and dry records, the legal *formulæ*, the endowment deeds,[2] the royal orders,[3] or the religious mysteries,[4] which constitute the whole that remains to us of Egyptian literature during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

In morals, the decline had begun under Rameses II., with the introduction of polygamy. It advanced under Rameses III., when the court became a hotbed of intrigue and conspiracy, the highest officials combining with the women of the harem to seek the life of the king, or reduce him to an imbecile condition, by magical arts,[5] enchantments, and 'all sorts of vileness.'[6] The grossest license appears in the caricatures of the time, which assume that the king is a voluptuary, and satirise his weakness with a shameless disregard of decency.[7] Not long afterwards sacrilege becomes fashionable, and a 'thieves' society' is formed, containing several members of the sacerdotal order, for the

[1] Brugsch calls these tables 'the most valuable contribution to astronomical science for all times' (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 73, 1st edit.). But I am not aware that they have been of any service as yet.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 174–6, 1st edit.

[3] Ibid. pp. 181 and 189.

[4] The 'Book of Hades' as recently set forth (*Records of the Past*, vol. x. pp. 86–134), though taken principally from the tomb of Seti I., is partly derived from that of Rameses VI. It is usually assigned, on the authority of the 'Imperial Papyrus,' to the nineteenth or twentieth dynasty' (ib. p. 86).

[5] Supra, p. 370.

[6] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 193, 1st edit.

[7] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 443.

purpose of opening and plundering the ancient tombs, without even sparing those of royal personages.[1] Inquiry on the subject is baffled for a considerable period, probably through the high position of some of those engaged in the transactions.[2] These transactions included the grossest ill-usage of the dead bodies, which Egyptian notions made almost the extreme of wickedness. When at last punishment overtakes some of the offenders, it is inadequate, the greater number of the condemned merely suffering the bastinado.

Dress of a Noble in the time of Rameses III.

Civilisation and the arts of life reached perhaps their highest development under Rameses III. It is

[1] See above, pp. 391-2.

[2] See Chabas, *Mélanges Égyptologiques*, 2me série, pp. 47-173.

then that we find the most luxurious fauteuils and ottomans,[1] the richest dresses, the most gorgeous riverboats,[2] the most elaborately carved musical instruments.[3] After his time Egypt became, comparatively speaking, poor; and, while the general mode of life continued much the same as before, there was a falling

Dresses of an Egyptian Noble and his Wife (20th Dynasty).

off in grandeur and magnificence. Dresses became somewhat more complicated,[4] but less splendid. Anklets were no longer worn, ear-rings became rare, and

[1] Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians*, vol. i. pl. x. (pp. title-page, and p. 410, No. 186).

[2] Rosellini, *Monumenti Civili*, pls. cv. No. 2, cvi. and cvii. These vessels, which belong to the reign of Rameses IV., have gaily patterned sails, ribbed cabins ornamented with figures of men, and steerage oars gaily painted and terminating at the head of the god Horus, of the ship.

[3] Wilkinson, *Ancient Egyptians* (ed. Birch), vol. i. pl. to face p. 430; *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 230.

[4] See *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 234, 238, 234.

bracelets ceased to be jewelled. On the other hand, the wigs of men and the hair of women (if it is indeed their own) were worn longer, and arranged more elaborately.[1] The absurd fashion still continued of turning up the toes of sandals to a height of two or three inches. Monkeys continued to be kept as pets,[2] the lotus blossom was still the usual adornment of the head for ladies at feasts, and lotus collars were still placed round the necks of guests. Music appears in the sculptures rather as an accompaniment of sacred ceremonies than as a means of amusing and entertaining company.[3] The domestic scenes of the period are, however, so few, that we cannot pretend to anything like a full knowledge of Egyptian private life at the time; and, on the whole, it is perhaps most probable that (in the main) it retained under the twenty-first dynasty the general character which it had acquired under the great kings of the eighteenth and nineteenth

[1] See the woodcut opposite.
[2] See the *Denkmäler*, part iii. pl. 213 *d*.
[3] Ibid. pl. 230.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE TWENTY-FIRST DYNASTY (ABOUT B.C. 1100–975).

Accession of Her-hor, the first Priest-King. Chief Features of his Reign. His Semitic Connection. His Titles, Personal Appearance, and Character. Doubtful Reign of Pinetch. Reign of Pinetem. His Son Men-kheper-en-ra establishes Tranquillity at Thebes. Uncertain Reign of Men-kheper-en-ra. Later Kings of the Dynasty. General Features of Peace and Prosperity. Duration of the Dynasty.

[illegible] (Ancient Monuments of the Louvre, vol. i. p. 416).

THE bold priest, who, taking his time, by cautious steps advanced himself into the rank and position of 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt,' bore the name of Per-hor or Her-hor, [illegible]. According to Manetho,[1] he was a native of Tanis, one of the chief cities of the Delta, the favourite residence of the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings.[2] How he became high-priest of Amen-ra at Thebes is not clear, since that office seems ere this to have been hereditary,[3] but, having once attained that position, he speedily conciliated to himself the favour of the reigning monarch, Rameses XII., and received from him the additional titles and offices of 'chief (per) of Upper and Lower Egypt,' 'royal son of Kush,' 'fanbearer on the right hand of the King,' 'chief

[1] Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 73[illegible].

[2] Supra, p. 20[illegible]. We should therefore have expected such successors as might prove to have been a Tanite.

[3] See above, p. 194.

architect,' and 'administrator of the granaries.'[1] Having thus managed to get all the most important offices of the government into his own hands, he succeeded, probably at the death of the king without issue,[2] in quietly stepping into his place. No doubt, his position as head of the priestly order secured him important support in every city of the empire, but had not the Egyptians generally, and the military class in particular, been weakened and demoralised by their long abstention from war under the last ten Ramesside kings, he would scarcely have settled himself upon the throne without a struggle. Of this, however, there is not the slightest trace. Her-Her appears to have been troubled by no internal disturbances. He adorned Thebes with sculptures,[3] led the forces of Egypt beyond the frontier to the more distant portion of Syria,[4] obtained military successes, and left his crown to his son or his grandson, who succeeded to his authority without difficulty.

It is thought that Her-Her, in order to strengthen his power, allied himself with a foreign monarch. The names of his wife, Nes-ta, and of his children,[5] are not Egyptian, and have been pronounced Semitic,[6] but perhaps with scarcely sufficient evidence. The pos-

[1] See Lepsius, *Ueber die XXII Aegyptischen Königsreihen*, p. 248; Birch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. [illegible] et seq.

[2] See Lepsius, l.s.c. Brugsch (*Hist. d'Égypte*) asserts that he drove Ramses XIII. into banishment (*Dictionnaire*, pt. iii. pp. 243-244).

[3] Brugsch, *Histoire d'Égypte*, p. 756. Brugsch says that Her-Her is mentioned on monuments that belong to the reign of Ramses IX. But the monuments cited by him, as belonging to the latter, to which he has a right (*History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 193, 1st ed.). But I see no proof for this supposition.

[4] Her-Her seems to have had numerous wives, and an equal number of daughters (*Dictionnaire*, pt. iii. pl. 247, n. b).

[5] See Birch, l.s.c. Nes-ta-ne-tawi, , as an Egyptian word signifying 'sweet in the Dictionary of Hieroglyphics.' See Birch's *Egypt*, vol. v. p. 45.

tive statement that 'he allied himself closely with one of the kings of Nineveh, in whose friendship he sought a support to his usurpation,'[1] is one of those bold assertions in which modern historiographers indulge because it is impossible absolutely to refute them. The assertion is simply without one atom of foundation. There were plenty of Semites within the limits of Egypt, with whom Her-hor might intermarry if he so pleased, and the population of Syria was in the main Semitic, so that he had no need to go to the distant Assyria for a Semitic wife. Netem.hus-o-usert, is never said to have been of royal birth. She is the *suten hemt ner*, or 'great royal consort.' But not *sute sat*, 'king's daughter' or 'princess.' Moreover, neither the name of his wife, Netem. nor the names of any of his sons,[2] are definitely Assyrian. Her-hor was probably married long before he ascended the throne, to one of those Semitic Egyptians who abounded in the north-eastern provinces,[3] and allowed his wife to give her children Semitic names, such as were common in those regions.

It is remarkable that, on assuming the royal title, he did not at first lay aside the designation of 'high-priest of Ammon,' but here that descriptive epithet regularly in one of his royal escutcheons,[4] while in the other he took the title of Si-Ammon, , or 'son of Ammon,' which was subsequently claimed and borne by Alexander. Later, he called himself Si-Ammon only.[5] It would seem that when he relinquished the

[1] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, Vol. i. p. 440.

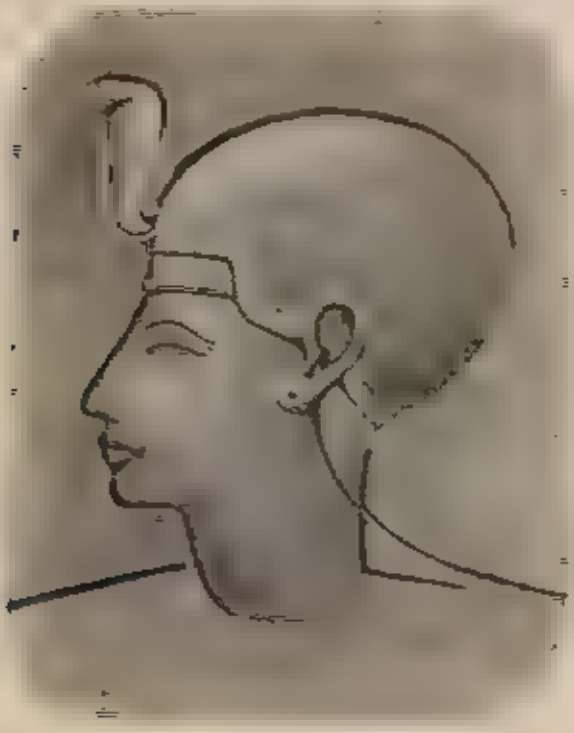
[2] Lepsius, *Konigsbuch*, Nos. 539 to 65.

[3] Lepsius, *Ueber die XXII Ko-nigsgruppe*, p. 28. Compare above, pp. [illegible].

[4] *Denkmäler* pt. ii. pls. 243, 244 *a*, 245 *b*, 246 *a*, *b*.

[5] Ibid. pls. 244 *b*, 248 *a*.

priesthood for himself, he devolved it upon his eldest son, Pankh, , thus securing its continued connection with the crown, and stamping his dynasty with a permanent hieratic character.



Head of Her-hor.

The personal appearance of Her-hor was pleasing. In the sculptures his features are delicate and good; his expression mild and agreeable.[1] Though he claims to have reconquered the Ruten, we cannot suppose him to have been much of a warrior, and he certainly did

[1] See the woodcut, and compare Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, p. x. No. 40.

not revive the glories of the empire to any considerable extent, or re-inspire the Egyptians with military ardour. On the whole, he would seem to have been a mild prince, not much more energetic than his Ramesid predecessors; and we may suspect that he took the bold step of usurping the crown, rather at the prompting of his order than inspired by any personal ambition.

It is uncertain who her-Her-hor's son, Pinŭkh, or his grandson, Pinetem, was his successor. Brugsch and Brugsch accord to Pinŭkh the title of king,[1] but it is admitted that he has neither the cartouche surrounding his name, nor the royal title affixed to it, on any of the monuments. The monuments are so scanty,[2] that the negative argument is perhaps not of very much weight; and it is just possible that Pinŭkh, the son of Her-hor, succeeded his father, and held the crown for a few years before the accession of Pinetem.

Pinetem, the grandson of Her-hor and son of Pinŭkh, whose name is expressed in the hieroglyphics by , took to wife a princess of the Ramesside house named Ramaka or Rukama,[3] and so strengthened his title to the crown, which is thought to have been disputed by the male descendants of the old Ramesside stock, who had been banished with their partisans to the lesser Oasis. Pinetem had fixed his court at Tanis in the Delta,[4] the native place of his grandfather, and had probably thereby offended the Thebans, who, to

[1] Bunsen, *Egypt's Place*, vol. ii. pp. 576-7; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 420 (see also p. 418 at the end).

[2] I am not aware of any monument erected by Pinŭkh. His name is found almost exclusively on monuments erected by his son (See *Denkmäler* pt. iii. pl. 240 *c*, pl. 241 *a*, pl. 251 *a*, *b*; Rossellini, *Mon. Stor.*, pl. xxx. No. 2).

[3] See Birch, *Ancient Egypt* p. 164. The fact is however disputed.

[4] Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 104 *et seq.*

vent their spleen, took the part of the Ramesside pretender. Hereupon Pinetem, in the twenty-fifth year of his reign, despatched his son Ra-men-khepr, or Men-khepr-ra, [cartouche], on whom he had devolved the office of high priest of Ammon, to the southern capital, to persuade or coerce the disaffected.[1] After punishing a certain number, he appears to have received the submission of the rest, but at the same time to have accepted their view, that clemency rather than severity was the proper course to be pursued towards the rebels, and that the first step necessary to be taken was the recall of the exiles from the Oasis. These are said, in the hyperbolical language of the East, to have amounted to a hundred thousand; and though this is no doubt an exaggeration, it is one which implies that they must have been in reality very numerous, and that the internal troubles, to which the usurpation of the high-priests had led, must have become ultimately of a very serious character indeed. Men-khepr-ra, as Pinetem's representative, allowed the exiles to return, and pledged his word that the practice of banishment for political offences should be discontinued. After this we do not hear of any more disturbances, and we may conclude that the policy of conciliation was successful.

Men-khepr-ra must, soon afterwards, have become king. His name occurs, enclosed in the royal cartouche, on bricks brought from the city of Kheb in the Heptanomis,[2] on which we find also the name of his wife, Hesi-em-kheb;[3] but we cannot ascribe any events to the period during which he occupied the throne. The supposition of a great Assyrian attack

[1] Pleyte, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 194–7, 1st ed.

[2] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 251 *i*, *k*.

[3] Ibid. pl. 251, *a*.

upon Egypt under a king, Sheshonk, and his son Nimrud, which has the authority of one important name in its favour,[1] is not generally accepted, and seems to lack evidence.

Other countless reigns belonging to the dynasty[2] are those of Pa seb-en-sha, , Pinetem II, and Hor Pasebensha, . It is generally agreed that these kings belonged to the same family with those already enumerated, but their exact relationship one to another and even the order of their succession are uncertain. Egyptian history is a blank during this space. We only know that friendly relations were established during the course of it between Egypt and Palestine, where an important kingdom had been set up by David and inherited by Solomon, that a monarch of the Tanite line consented to give one of his daughters in marriage to the latter prince,[3] and that, under these amicable relations of the two powers, a brisk trade was carried on for horses and chariots between the Egyptians on the one hand and the Syrians and Hittites on the other.[4] Egypt was at the same time, as no doubt it was always, open as an asylum to the political fugitive; and the Hadad, prince of Edom, who fled from David, found a refuge with some monarch of the Tanite dynasty,[5] just as Jeroboam, at a later date, found a refuge with Shishak.[6] The country was quiet, without disturbance from within or menace from abroad; the kings were peaceful, never forgetting that they were priests as well as sovereigns; the people

[1] Brugsch *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 197, 202.

[2] Lepsius *Ueber die XXII Königsgruppe*, p. 264. Königsbuch, Tab. xiii.; Birch *Ancient Egypt*, p. 155.

[3] 1 Kings iii. 1, vii. 8.

[4] Ibid. x. 28.

[5] Ibid. xi. 19, 20.

[6] Ibid. xi. 40.

were satisfied to apply themselves generally to useful trades and productive employments; they were no longer assailed either from the west or from the north, since the Libyans had been taught a lesson, and the 'war of Troy' had changed the condition of the powers of the Mediterranean; they were safe upon the side of the east, since they had a bulwark in the new empire raised up by the kings of Israel; and on the side of the south the Ethiopians as yet gave no sign. Cloud and tempest were gathering, and would burst in fury upon the land at a not very distant future; but as yet the atmosphere was serene—thunder did not even mutter in the distance—the calm prevailed which is generally thought to portend a storm.

The duration of the dynasty is calculated by Manetho[1] at 130 years, and, having regard to the synchronism between Sheshonk and Solomon, we may assign it, without much chance of serious error, the space between B.C. 1100 and B.C. 975.

[1] Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 73, a.

CHAPTER XXIV.

THE TWENTY-SECOND AND CONTEMPORARY DYNASTIES (ABOUT B.C. 978–750).

The Twenty-second Dynasty not Assyrian but Bubastite. Accession of Shishonk I. his Foreign Descent. his Marriage with a Royal Princess. His Reception of Jeroboam. His great Egyptian rock Inscription. His Asiatic Conquests. His Buildings and Buildings. His Canon. —Death of the ruler, and Accession of Osorkon I. Peaceful Reign of Osorkon. Reigns of Takelut I. and Osorkon II. Expedition of Zerah the Ethiopian. Reigns of Shishonk II. Takelut II. Shishonk III., Pimai, and Shishonk IV. Other Contemporary Kings. Rise of Pisankh. Disappearance of Art and Literature under the Shishonks.

If he [Shishonk] of the twenty-first dynasty [illegible] account of Shishonk [illegible] not [illegible]. —Birch, Egypt from the Earliest Times, p. [illegible].

We are asked to see in the establishment of the twenty-second dynasty the effect of the absolute conquest of Egypt by the Assyrians,[1] which resulted in the establishment of a minor branch of the Assyrian royal family upon the Egyptian throne, and the subjection of the country for nearly two centuries to a foreign yoke. But a large number of important considerations oppose themselves to the reception of this novel theory, which has not, so far as we are aware, been accepted by any Egyptologist of repute, except its propounder. In the first place, the Assyrians appear to have been at the time in question exceptionally weak;[2] and whereas, rather more than a century earlier

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 197–200. 1st ed.

[2] See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 81. 2nd ed.

B.C. 1100), they carried their victorious arms across the Euphrates into Northern Syria, and a century later (B.C. 875) reduced the Phœnician towns to subjection,[1] in the interval—from B.C. 1100 to B.C. 980—they were not only repressed and embarrassed [illegible] of the enterprise of making extensive foreign conquests. Secondly, it is certain that the Egyptians neither speak with any distinctness of any foreign attack upon their independence at this time, nor use the term 'Assyrian'—with which they were well acquainted[2]—in any connection with the kings of this dynasty. The term used in such connection, and supposed to designate 'Assyria,' is *Mat*,[3] which may perhaps mean 'the peoples,' but which has no more connection with the word Assyria than with Palestine, or Babylon, or Persia. Further, the new names which now come into Egyptian history, and which are thought to support the Assyrian theory, are decidedly non-Assyrian, and, so far as is known, were never borne by any Assyrian person.[4]

[1] See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 68, 2nd ed.

[2] Ibid. p. 80.

[3] Assyria appears as Assuru, [illegible], in the inscription of Tiglath-Pileser III. (See above, p. 356.)

[4] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 1-3 of 1st ed.

[5] The names in which imperial Egypt is plainly now [illegible] Takelothis, Osorkon, and Nimrat would [illegible] with Takelt, Sargon, and Nimrud. Similarly, a parallel with the mystic name of Babylon, Nebuchadnezzar, [illegible] Tiglath-pileser, Nimrud, and [illegible] Sargon, and Nebuchadnezzar, [illegible] Tiglath-pileser, *more* [illegible] never an Assyrian name, and could not be [illegible] Osorkon, and [illegible] Nimrat, [illegible] Nimrud, and indeed is a word whereof it is difficult to find any [illegible] in Assyrian or Babylonian. Sargon, it is true, was an old Babylonian name, and came into use in Assyria about B.C. 720. But is Osorkon Sargina or Sargon? If so, why the unnecessary prefix, Os or O, [illegible], which is not at all common at the beginning of words in Egyptian, whereas it is a very [illegible] in Assyrian? (See above, p. 356, note 1.) Nimrat, moreover, is the [illegible] name of Nebuchadnezzar's wife, [illegible] Nimrud, the name of a god and city. [illegible] the name of Nimrat [illegible] with [illegible] spelt unusually by reversing the

Manetho, who, living under the Ptolemies, had no false shame leading him to conceal the subjection of Egypt by her neighbours—who called the seventeenth dynasty Phœnician or Arabian,[1] the twenty-fifth Ethiopian,[2] and the twenty-seventh Persian[3]—declared the twenty-second to be Bubastite,[4] and therefore native Egyptian. His statement is confirmed by the fact, that two of the kings[5] called themselves *Se Bast*, or "Son of Bast"—the goddess from whom Bubastis took its name, and who was especially worshipped there. It appears[6] that a certain Shoshonk, a Bubastite commander under one of the later kings of the twenty-first dynasty, took to wife a princess of the Tanite house, named Mehtenhont or Mehtenuskh,[7] and had by her a son, Namurt, who became the father of a second Shoshonk, . This second Shoshonk, having royal blood in his veins, was selected by a later Tanite king as a fitting husband for his daughter, Kotamat , and was thus led to raise his thoughts to the crown. Whether he usurped it, or succeeded it, in right of his wife, or on the failure of male-

[1] See above, p. 348.

[2] See above, p. 348.

[3] Apud Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 74 B.

[4] Ibid. p. 72 C.

[5] Ibid. p. 73 B.

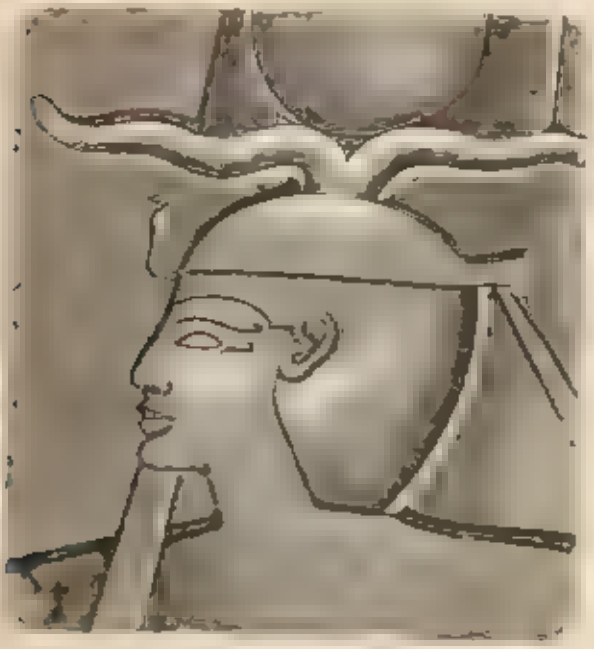
[6] Osorkon II. and Shoshonk III. See below, pp. 420 and 427.

[7] The early history of the Shoshonk family is made known to us by one of the Apis stelæ discovered by M. Mariette (see his work *Le Serapeum de Memphis*, p. 292). An extract from it will be found in the valuable *Recherches sur les Obélisques*, *Leber des XXII Königsnamen*, pp. 205 et seqq.

The rank is shown by the prefix *sotem sat* which occurs before her name. (Lepsius, p. 205, line 13.)

[8] Lepsius gives the first, Brugsch the second, of these forms. Mehtenuskh was probably a daughter of Mer-Khepera or Psusennes (Pasebakhaa).

male in the Tanite line,[1] is doubtful; but perhaps it is most probable that he was regarded as the rightful heir. Shortly after his accession, he took the throne-name of Hat-khepr-ma-setepen-ra, and bore this name in his second shield on most occasions.[2]



Head of Sheshonk I. (Shishak).

It was probably not long after his accession that he received a fugitive of importance from the neighbouring country of Palestine, where Solomon still occupied the throne of his father David. This was Jeroboam, the son of Nebat, an officer who had held high employment under Solomon,[3] but had become an

[1] S. Wilkinson (in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 74, 2nd ed.) and Rosellini (*Monumenti Storici*, vol. i. p. 452).

[2] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 252 f.; Rosellini, *Mon. Storici*, pl. cxlvii.

[3] 1 Kings xi. 28.

object of suspicion because it had been prophesied that he would one day be king of ten out of the twelve tribes of Israel. To prevent the accomplishment of this prophecy Solomon wished to put Jeroboam to death.[1] He, however, contrived to effect his escape, and became a refugee at the court of Shishonk, where, according to tradition,[2] he was well treated. When Solomon died, some time after Jeroboam returned to his native land; and the prophecy of Ahijah was fulfilled under the circumstances related in the First Book of Kings.[3] The Israelites elected Jeroboam to be their sovereign; but he probably felt his tenure to be insecure, and consequently made representations to Shishonk which caused that monarch to undertake an important military expedition. The Egyptians had for several centuries known the art of war, but a number of mercenary soldiers had been maintained as a sort of police, and there was thus a standing army of a certain amount, consisting mainly of the Libyans of the west, and the negroes and Ethiopians of the south, which preserved internal order, guarded the frontiers, and might be employed, if need were, beyond them. Shishonk, a new king of a new dynasty, might be anxious, like Hector when he attacked the Danai,[4] to impress the nation favourably by the display of energy and military daring. If he could count on the friendship of Jeroboam, he would be exposing himself to little danger, and he might gather laurels, such as had been unheard of for above a century, without any risk of a reverse. Accordingly he determined on a great

[1] 1 Kings xi. 40.

[2] See the Arabic additions to the First Book of Kings, in which Jeroboam is said to have married a daughter of Shishonk. Compare Syncellus (Dindorf, p. 154 A).

[3] 1 Kings xi. 29–39.

[4] See above, page 400, note [4].

expedition into Palestine. Collecting the whole body of the mercenaries, and adding to them probably some Egyptian levies, he was able to muster a force of twelve hundred chariots, sixty thousand horse,[1] and 'footmen without number,' at the head of which he entered the Holy Land 'in three columns,' as has been supposed[2]—and, spreading his troops far and wide over the country, 'took the fenced cities which pertained to Judah and came to Jerusalem.'[3] Now for the first time since they entered the 'Land of Promise' had the Jews to contend with their great southern neighbour—now for the first time did they come in contact with large masses of disciplined troops, armed and trained alike, and soldiers by profession. The crowds of horse, the vast body of chariots, the countless number of the footmen which swarmed over the land, seem to have overawed their hands, and prevented the very thought of an organised resistance. In vain had Rehoboam, immediately after Jeroboam's revolt, fortified a number of the towns of Judah,[4] especially those towards the south and south-west,[5] in anticipation of an Egyptian inroad. At the sight of the advancing host the cities opened their gates, or fell after brief sieges,[6] and in an incredibly short space of time the triumphant Pharaoh appeared before the Jewish capital, which yielded at discretion. Shesonk entered the city, stripped the temple of its most valuable treasures, and plundered the royal palace,[7]

[1] See 2 Chron. xii. 3. The twelve hundred chariots of this passage are similar to the soldiers of Ramses II. to differ from the twelve hundred Egyptian chariots which Sesostris commanded, as the latter is restricted to aspect a [illegible] of the army.

[2] Lenormant, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 156.

[3] 2 Chron. xii. 4. Compare 1 Kings xiv. 25.

[4] 2 Chron. xi. 5–12.

[5] As Shoco, Socoh, Adullam, Archah, Lachish, Mareshah, Ziph, Telem, Hebron, &c.

[6] 2 Chron. xii. 4.

[7] 1 Kings xiv. 25. 2 Chron. xii. 9.

not accepted Rehoboam's submission, allowed him to remain in Jerusalem as tributary prince,[1] and marched away his troops to further conquests.

Jeroboam, it would seem, had work for his ally to do, not in Judæa only, but also in his own territory. The Levitical cities, scattered about the land, were most liable to him,[2] and many of the Canaanitish towns had either never been subdued, or had taken advantage of the disruption of the kingdom to resume their independence.[3] Shishonk is found, by the list of the conquered cities and tribes which he set up on his return home, to have carried his arms over the kingdom of Israel no less than over that of Judah, and to have captured in the former a large number of Levitical cities, such as Rehob, Gibeon, Mahanaim, Bethhoron, Kedemoth, Beeam or Hileam, Aruboth, &c., and a certain number of Canaanite ones. He may even be traced across the Jordan valley, when at or by Bethshan, into the trans-Jordanic region, where he captured Mahanaim and Aroer, and thence into north-western Arabia, where he reduced the Edomites, the Temanites (?), and several tribes of the Hagarenes.[4] Thus his expedition, though not to be compared with the great campaigns of Thothmes I. and III., of Seti I. or Rameses II., had a considerable success. Jeroboam, the friend and ally of Egypt, was strengthened and helped; Rehoboam was made a tributary, and the Arab tribes south and east of Palestine were reduced to dependence.

On his return to Thebes from Asia, with his

[1] This is implied in the expressions, 'they shall be his servants' 'that they may know my service and the service of the kingdoms' 2 Chron. xii. 8).

[2] 2 Chron. xi. 13-14.

[3] See the remarks of Mr. R. Stuart Poole in the *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iii. p. 1284.

[4] Ibid. p. 1285.

prisoners and his treasures, it seemed to the victorious monarch that he might fitly seek to emulate the glories of the old Pharaohs, not only in war but in the arts of peace. Seti and Rameses had eternised their victories by inscribing them upon imperishable stone at Thebes—why should he not follow their example, and set up his memorial in the same place? He was 'high-priest of Ammon in Apt,'[1] and the Great Temple of Karnak was thus under his special care; it was therefore at that place that he resolved to impress upon the stone the image of his own person and the record of his successes. On the external southern wall of this building, in the so-called portico of the Bubastites, he caused himself to be represented twice—once holding by the hair of their heads thirty-eight captive Asiatics and threatening them with uplifted mace,[2] and a second time leading captive 133 cities or tribes, each specified by name, and personified in an individual form, though the form is incompletely represented.[3] Out of all these, the greatest interest will always attach to that which bears the inscription, 'Yuda-Melk,' and represents either the captive Judæan kingdom, or Rehoboam himself.[4]

Supposed head of Judah-Melk.

Besides engraving his bas-reliefs on a part of the old Temple of Ammon, Sheshonk built a sort of

[1] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pls. 253 *b*, *c*, 254 *Ac*.

[2] Ibid. pl. 253 *a*.

[3] Ibid. pl. 252. Compare Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. clxvi.

[4] From the cartouche on the mace may be taken to both the proposed translations of 'Yuda-Melk'—'Judah, a kingdom,' and 'Judah's king.' But Mr. Stuart Poole has shown that the former rendering, at least, is a possible one (Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iii. p. 1208).

entrance hall, which leads from the south, close by the east wall of the sanctuary of Rameses III., into the great front court of the temple.[1] A record in the quarries of Silsilis shows that he drew the stone for this edifice from that locality, and that he gave the order for the stone to be hewn in the twenty-first year of his reign.[2] As no higher date than this is found on his monuments, and as Manetho gave him exactly twenty-one years,[3] we may assume as highly probable that his reign was not much further prolonged, and assign him the period from about B.C. 975 to B.C. 953.

Two sons of Sheshonk I. are known to us. The eldest, who was named Smpot or Anpot, [illegible] received during his father's return the dignity of high-priest of Ammon-Ra in Thebes,[4] and commanded in chief of the Theban soldiers.[5] He also presided over the working of the quarries at Silsilis.[6] Apparently, however, he died before his father, and so made way for the second son Osorkon, [illegible], who took the throne-name of Sekhem-kheper-ra setep-en-ra,[7] and held the throne, according to Manetho, for fifteen years,[8] from about B.C. 953 to B.C. 938. It is thought by some[9] that, like his father, he was ambitious of military glory, and that he followed his father's example by making a great expedition into Palestine, being, in fact, the *Zerah*, or *Zerach*, who invaded Judæa in the reign of Asa, the grandson of

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. [illegible] 2nd ed.

[2] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 224 *c*.

[3] Africanus, *Chronography*, pp. [illegible] 74 B.

[4] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 213, 1st ed.

[5] Ibid. p. 212.

[6] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pp. 257 *b*, *c*.

[7] As Sesonchis [illegible].

[8] This was the view of Dr. Hincks. M. Lenormant places the expedition in the reign of Osorkon I. but with the latter giving him *Zerah*. *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 453.

Rehoboam.[1] But the dates of the two expeditions, which fell thirty years apart, and the epithet of Zerah, "the Cushite," are against the view. Osarkon I cannot possibly have been termed "the Cushite," since his father and mother were both native Egyptians, and as Shishak's expedition was made to destroy and not to help, and Osarkon probably did not survive him above fifteen years, the date of Zerah's expedition would not be reached until Osarkon's reign was over. There is every reason to believe that he was a peaceful and wholly undistinguished prince, content to add a few insignificant names to the Bubastite portion of his father,[2] and to rule Egypt in quietness during such term of life as Heaven might allow him. His portrait, as given by Rosellini,[3] is that of a mild prince, not remarkable for energy or determination.

Head of Osarkon I.

Osarkon I was followed upon the throne by his son, Takerot or Takarat, , who assumed the titles of Heq, , "son of Isis," and further took the throne-name of Hat-neseh-pe-en Amun meri-Bubastis. It is known that, in the early part of his reign, he

[1] 2 Chron. xiv. 9–13.

[2] Jeroboam fled to Shishak soon after [illegible] began to reign. Now (1 Kings xi. 27) which was in the twenty-fourth year of the reign (Rawl. Herod. ii. 141). He must have remained at the court of Shishak some [illegible] years. The expedition was not [illegible] than four years afterwards (1 Kings xiv. 25). This can scarcely have been earlier than Osarkon's eighteenth year.

[3] *Denkmäler*, pt. iv. pl. 2[illegible] b. c.

[4] *Monumenti Storici*, pl. xi. N. 10.

[5] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 14 [illegible]. The monuments are few and scanty for this period that has come down to us, and their value for chronological purposes is greatly diminished by the absence of [illegible] the dynasties. I cannot see any sufficient reason for Dr. Brugsch's [illegible] between the two brothers

was engaged in a struggle with his younger brother, Shoshonk, the son of Osarkon I. by a Tanite princess, Kerumat, and that, although successful, he had to concede to the cadet of his house the new and high title of 'Lord of Upper and Lower Egypt,' which is found attached to his name in the inscriptions. Shoshonk was also recognised as 'High priest of the Theban Ammon,' and thus enjoyed a dignity not much inferior to that of his brother. He likewise held the office of 'commander-in-chief of the troops.' Takelut I. had a short and unsatisfactory reign. He has left no monuments, and is only known through the Apis-stelæ, which give him a wife called Kapes, and a son Osarkon,[1] who succeeded him.

The second Osarkon reigned at least twenty-two years.[2] He called himself Sekhet or 'son of the goddess Bast, the queen of Bubastis,' and also took the throne-name of User-ma-ra-setep-en-Amun. Chronological considerations[3] make it probable that the great expedition into Palestine, ascribed in the Second Book of Chronicles to 'Zerah the Ethiopian,' took place in his reign, either under him own auspices, or under those of an Ethiopian general, to whom he entrusted the command of his army. The Hebrew Zerach, etc. may possibly represent the Egyptian Osarkon, and Osarkon II. may be called an Ethiopian, because his

[1] Manetho assigned twenty-five years each for the three kings who followed after Osarkon I. ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 71 D. As one of these—Osarkon II.—reigned at least twenty-two years, very little more remained to be left for the two others. Of course Manetho may have been wrong; but the want of monuments for the reigns of Takelut I. and Shoshonk II. tends to confirm him.

[2] Lepsius, *Ueber die XXII Aegyptischen Königsgruppen*, pp. 286 D. Compare Mariette, *Le Serapeum de Memphis*, p. 52.

[3] An Apis died after he had entered on his twenty-third year. Mariette, *Serapeum*, p. 10.

[4] See above, p. 423, note[1].

mother, Kapes, was an Ethiopian princess;[1] or the Pharaoh, whose mercenary troops were largely Ethiopian, may have placed the invading army under a leader of that nation. The object of the expedition was to bring back Judæa, which had revolted,[2] to the

Head of Osarkon II.

subject position which had been imposed upon her by Sheshonk Shishak). The attack, however, completely failed. Inspirited by the words of Shemaiah, which assured him of victory, the Jewish king, Asa, the

[1] There is no proof of this, and it is only to be set down as a conjecture, but the name is a new and strange one, certainly not Egyptian.

[2] Asa's revolt is indicated by his fortification of his stronghold (2 Chron. xiv. 6-7).

grandson of Rehoboam, boldly met the invader in the open field, engaged his numerous host, which is vaguely estimated at "a thousand thousand," and completely defeated it in a great battle.[1]

Osorkon II. appears to have had three wives.[2] The chief of these bore the same name as the queen of Sheshonk I., Karomat, and was probably by birth a princess of the royal house. She was the mother of Sheshonk II. (who, at his father's twenty-third year, was old enough to exercise the functions of royalty at Memphis), and must therefore have been taken to wife by Osorkon before, or soon after, he ascended the throne. Another of his wives, named Hesemkheb, bore him the princess Thes-hotpet, while a third, Mut-at-ankhes, was the mother of prince Nimrot, who became overseer of the prophets and commander of the bowmen at Heracleopolis Magna,[3] governor of the Lebu-t, and high priest of Ammon at Thebes.

The crown prince, Sheshonk, is governor of Memphis, celebrated the funeral rites of a deceased Apis-bull in his father's twenty-third year,[4] and probably succeeded the throne soon afterwards. He was even less distinguished than his predecessors, and apparently had but a short reign.[5] The throne-name which he assumed, and which distinguished him from the other Sheshonks, was Seses-kheper-ra-setep-en-Ammon.

The remaining monarchs of the dynasty were

[1] 2 Chron. xiv. 9-13. As Zerah is expressly said to be "the Ethiopian," and the host was composed of "Lubim, Sukkiim, and Ethiopians," it is probable that Osorkon was at this time engaged in a war with Ethiopia.

[2] See Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, Taf. xli. Nos. 580, 581, and 587.

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 216. (ed. Stuart).

[4] Mariette, *Serapeum de Memphis*, pl. 27.

[5] See above, p. 425, note[4]. The two monuments are said to apply equally to the reigns of Takarat I. and Sheshonk II.

Takelut II., called Si-Hesi, or 'son of Isis,' like the former prince of the name, and also Hut-kheper-ra-setep-en-ra, Shoshenk III., known as Si-Bast and User-ma-ra-setep-en-ra; Pami, [illegible], called User-ma-ra-setep-en-amun, and Shoshenk IV., called Ra-kheper-ra. These four princes are thought to come in the regular line of succession[1] from Shoshenk II., and, together with Shoshenk I., Takelut I., and the two Osorkons, to make up the nine monarchs whom Manetho assigned to this royal house.[2] Egypt rapidly declined under their government and once more suffered disintegration; rival dynasties established themselves at Thebes, Tanis, Memphis, and elsewhere,[3] Ethiopia acquired a preponderating power in the south, and the Empire tended to dissolution. Disturbances are spoken of as occurring as early as the reign of Takelut II., both in the south and in the north,[4] and very soon the entire attention of the rulers was diverted from public works and foreign expeditions to internal quarrels and dissensions. The descendants of the great adversary of Rameses-Ioum-sou claimed the royal title, and exercised precarious authority at Thebes, while the twenty-first dynasty of Manetho reigned at Tanis and Bubastis, and an upstart prince, called Tefnekhthes or Tafnekht, held Memphis and the Western Delta. At

[1] See Lepsius, *Über die XXII Manethonische Dynastie*, p. 21 of the extract. Dr. Birch, however, suggests that Takelut II. was the immediate successor of Shoshenk II. (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 168.)

[2] See Synchronistic Harmony, p. 332.

[3] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne de l'Orient*, vol. ii. pp. 19-20. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 210-24, 1st ed.

[4] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 167. Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 7.

[5] The dynasty appears to have consisted of three kings. Takelut himself is mentioned by Manetho as the last of these. Osorkon, who is given as the second king, was probably Pamiu, who is known to have reigned [illegible] years, and assigns him thirty-one years.

Napata, on the Upper Nile, a certain Piankhi obtained sovereign power, and by degrees established a sort of paramountcy or suzerainty over the whole of Egypt. As this change marks one of the main crises in Egyptian history, and is connected closely with the period of the twenty-fourth, or Ethiopian dynasty, its consideration is deferred to the ensuing chapter.

Art under the Shishaks did not so much decline as disappear. A certain number of pylons and barrels[1] were indeed added to the Temple of Karnak by the earlier monarchs, but these weak efforts are wholly devoid of artistic value; and later a time they are discontinued, as though the kings were ashamed at the contrast between their own feeble performances and the great works of former sovereigns. The Apis tombs continue, but are rude memorial stones, with no relation to, or rank as works of art.[2] Stagnation and clumsiness characterise the tombs of the time, which copy antique forms, but without any of the antique spirit. Statuary almost entirely ceases;[3] a certain number of statuettes may belong to the time,[4] but of sized figures are almost wholly wanting.

The condition of literature under the dynasty is similar. Except e.g. a few school tablets without the slightest literary merit,[5] and some magical texts and spells,[6] nothing seems to have been written. The lite-

[1] The most important of these works are given in the *Karnak*, pl. 11, which occupy an area of the plates, pp. 15, 20.

[2] See Mariette, *Serapeum de Memphis*, pp. 24 *et seqq.*

[3] Two statues of a bull belonging to the time are mentioned in the *Karnak*, pl. 11, pp. 25a, b and 26a. The British Museum has a fine head.

[4] A statue of a king (No. 277) in the first hall in the British Museum, and a statue representing Osorkon in the *Karnak*, pl. 11, p. 25a.

[5] See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 21–23, 2nd ed.

[6] The Magical Papyrus, translated by Dr. Birch in the *Records of the Past*, vol. vi. pp. 161–174.

ature of the time is reduced to the two branches of the mystic and the commonplace. On the one hand, we are gravely informed that 'when Horus weeps, the water that falls from his eyes grows into plants producing a sweet perfume. When Baba (Typhon) lets fall blood from his nose, it grows into plants changing to oxlips, and produces turpentine instead of the water. When Isis and Tefnut weep much, and water runs from their eyes, it changes into plants that produce incense. When the Sun weeps a second time, and lets water fall from his eyes, it is changed into working bees; they work in the flowers of each kind, and honey and wax are produced instead of the water.'[1] On the other hand, the eternity of inscription on hard stone is bestowed on statements that 'King Shoshenk caused a new quarry to be opened to begin building,'[2] or that 'in the year 2, the month Mechir, on the first day of the month, under the reign of king Pinem, the god Apis was carried to his rest in the beautiful region of the west, and was laid in the grave, and deposited in his everlasting house and his eternal abode. He was born in the year 28, in the time of the deceased king Shoshenk III. His glory was sought for in all places of Lower Egypt. He was found after some months in the city of Hashed-shoot. He was solemnly introduced into the temple of Phtah, beside his father, the Memphian god Phtah of the south wall, by the high priest in the temple of Phtah, the great prince of the Mashuash, Petise, the son of the high-priest of

[1] Apparently to these lines we may be [illegible] which he [illegible] the twenty-first and the twenty-sixth dynasties: *Records of the Past*, old series, vol. ii. p. 118.

[2] The speech in the tomb of [illegible] Rosellini, *Monumenti storici*, vol. ii. p. 212, ed. [illegible]

form of literature, and approach to,

Mut-em-ua and great grand-son of the Mashuash, Tiklut, and of the princess of royal race, Thes-bast-per, in the year 28, in the month Paophi, on the first day of the month. The full lifetime of this god amounted to twenty-six years.[1] Such are the highest points of Egyptian authorship in the two centuries and a quarter or which intervene between B.C. 975 and B.C. 750.

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 27 [1st ed.].

CHAPTER XXV.

THE ETHIOPIAN PHARAOHS.

Invasion of Egypt, and Conquest of the Delta by Shabaka about B.C. 720. Establishment of Ethiopian Supremacy at Memphis. Overthrow of the Ethiopian Dynasty. Shabaka's Reign at Thebes. He Marries the Daughter of Piankhi. Revolt of Tefnakht. Defeat and Flight of the Chief. Invasion of Sabaco. Sabaco. His Reign. His Monuments. Final Conquest of Egypt and the Expulsion of the Assyrians. Reign of Shabataka. Invasion of Taharka. His Campaigns. His Buildings. His Reign. His Wars with the Assyrians. His Defeat. Flight of Esarhaddon. Taharka's Return. His Death.

"The land shadowing with wings, which is beyond the rivers of Ethiopia."
Isaiah xviii. 1.

THE sight sketches given of Ethiopia and the Ethiopians in the first section of the present work are scarcely sufficient to enable the reader to comprehend the position in which Egypt had come to stand towards her southern neighbour, or the nature of the struggle with which she was now threatened from that quarter. Ethiopia, in the ordinary and vague sense of the term, was a vast tract extending in length above a thousand miles, from the first to the twenty-fourth degree of north latitude, and in breadth almost nine hundred miles, from the shores of the Red Sea and Indian Ocean to the deserts of the Soudan.[1] This

[1] See pp. 30–32 and Ch. II. *Ancient and Modern Geography*, &c.
[2] See Dr. Smith's *Dictionary of*, i. p. 67.

tract was inhabited for the most part by wild and barbarous tribes—hunters, hunters, or fishermen—who grew no corn, were unacquainted with bread, and subsisted on the milk and flesh of their cattle, or on game, turtle, and fish, salted or raw.[1] The tribes had their own separate chiefs, and a knowledge of writing had, but on the contrary were frequently at war one with the other, and sold their prisoners for slaves. Such was Ethiopia in the common vague sense, but to this must be distinguished another narrower Ethiopia, known sometimes as 'Ethiopia Proper' or 'Ethiopia above Egypt,'[2] the limits of which were, towards the south, the junction of the White and Blue Nile, and towards the north the Third Cataract.[3] Into this tract, called sometimes 'The kingdom of Meroe,' Egyptian civilization had, long before the eighteenth century, deeply penetrated. Temples of the Egyptian type, stone pyramids, avenues of sphinxes, had been erected,[4] a priest-caste had been set up,[5] which was reported as derived from the Egyptian priesthood, hieroglyphic inscriptions had been adopted; the whole tract formed ordinarily one kingdom, and the natives were not very much behind the Egyptians in arts or manners, or very different from them in features, customs, and complexion. Even in these the difference was not great. The Ethiopians were darker in complexion than the Egyptians[6] and possessed probably a greater

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[1] Herod. iii. 17–23. Strabo, xvii. 1, § 2. Diod. Sic. i. 31, 32, 36, &c.

[2] Herod. ii. 146. Diod. Geograph. xvi.

[3] These limits must be understood as applying to the period of the Egyptian occupation of Meroe, or to the period when Meroe was a dependency of Egypt.

[4] See the articles on Meroe and Nubia in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography*, and compare Wilkinson in the notes to *Herodotus*, vol. ii. pp. 41–2, note[1], 3rd ed.

[5] Diod. Sic. i. 21.

[6] This is very strongly marked in

influx of Nigritic blood, but there was a common stock at the root of the two races—Cush and Mizraim were brethren.[1]

In the region of Ethiopia Proper a very important position was occupied in the eighth century by Napata. Napata was situated midway in the great bend of the Nile, between lat. 18° and 19°, where for a time the middle stream ceases to flow to the north, and takes a course which is considerably south of west. It occupied the left bank of the river in the near vicinity of the modern tribe Berka. Here, as early as the time of Amenophis III., a great sanctuary was raised to Ammon by that distinguished king;[2] and here, when the decline of Egypt enabled the Ethiopians to reclaim their ancient limits, the capital was fixed of that kingdom, which shortly became a rival of the old empire of the Pharaohs, and aspired to take its place. The city increased in size; new temples were raised to Osiris and other Egyptian gods; avenues of sphinxes adorned the approaches to the temples, sepulchral monuments were erected in the shape of pyramids; the entire city had a thoroughly Egyptian aspect; and Egyptian names dominated the names of the inhabitants.[3] The Theban god, Ammon-Ra, was recognised as the supreme god of the country. The king's burial name was carved exactly according to the old Egyptian pattern. The Egyptian language and writing, divisions of time, and everything else relating to manners and customs, were preserved.[4] Though an Ethiopian city, Napata had all the appearance of an Egyptian one; and nothing

[1] Herod. ii. 30.

[2] See above, p. 384.

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 227, 1st ed.

[4] Diodorus Siculus, iii. 6. Strabo, xvii. 1. § 54. Pliny, *H. N.* vi. 29. Lucan, *Phars.* x. 154.

showed its foreign character but a certain consciousness of power in the architecture, and a total absence of servile attempt at originality in the artistic forms or in the mode of employing them.

Napata was also a place of natural wealth. The kingdom of Meroe, whereof it was the capital, extended southward as far as the modern Khartoum, on the eastward stretched over the Abyssinian highlands, and long bestraddled the Atbara and its tributaries, together with most of the tract between the Atbara and the Nile. It was a region of great splendour and of many sorts of good, even copper, iron, and coal, and woods of date, ebony, and teak. Some excellent pasture ground, and much that is now waste suitable for the growth of *durra* and other sorts of grain. Fish of many kinds swarm in the Atbara and other streams, while large and splendid ostriches were found in the forests. With the riches of the interior, which were able to furnish an almost inexhaustible supply of ivory, skins, and slaves, Napata continued down to Roman times a place of importance, and only sank to utter insignificance on the conquests of Petronius against Candace in the first century after our era.[3]

It is thought[4] that during the two lines which united in the supremacy of the first Ethiopic dynasty, that of the Shabakos, a branch of the family of

[1] See Mr. Reisner's account of the Meroitic Stone *Pyramids of Meroe and Hamitic Conquest*, [illegible]

[2] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vi. 29. Napata was also [illegible] Ptolemies [illegible] Ethiopian Phalanx, there is little to prove any connection of the kind [illegible]

[3] Lenormant, *Manual of Ancient History of the East*, [illegible]

Her heir transferred itself from Thebes to Napata, and, intermarrying there with the principal families of the place, was accepted as a royal house, and founded the northern Ethiopian kingdom, which after a time became dangerous to the Egyptians. The princes of Nophi[1] at first were of no great importance; but as Egypt became more and more disorganised and dismembered, their power grew relatively greater, until at last they found themselves able to assume the protectorate of one Egyptian kingdom after another, and ultimately, about B.C. 750, to exercise a species of lordship over the whole country.

The individual who is first found occupying this proud position is Piankhi, 𓊹𓇋𓈖𓏏𓅱, who calls himself Mi Amun or Meri-Amun, 'Beloved of Amun,' and is thought to have been a descendant of Herhor.[2] On a stele found at Gebel Barkal, the ancient Napata, this prince, who assumes the ordinary Pharaonic titles, 'Son of the Sun' and 'King of Upper and Lower Egypt,' states that in his twenty-first year, a great revolt broke out in Egypt against his authority.[3] By the account which he gives of the revolt we find that previously to it, Egypt was divided into at least seven kingdoms, each ruled by a native Egyptian king, who however was not independent, but owed allegiance to Piankhi. Tefnekht ruled in the Western Delta, and held Sais and Memphis; Osorkon was king of the Eastern Delta, and kept his court in Bubastis; Peftchaa was king of Athribis, also in the Delta, and Auput ruled in some portion of the same region, in middle

[1] Isaiah xix. 13; Jerem. xlvi. 14, 19; Ezek. xxx. 13, 16, &c.

[2] Compare Birch, *Egyptian Inscriptions*, pl. 1, and the account of the second volume.

[3] See Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 1; *Revenue of the Past*, p. 85; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 261, 1st ed.

Egypt the tract next above Memphis formed the kingdom of Pefcubast, who had his residence in Sutenhennen, or Heracleopolis Magna, while above this was the dominion of Nimrod, extending beyond Sesennut (or Hermopolis), his capital. Bekenranef had also a principality, though in what exact position is uncertain. Other chiefs appear to have held cities, but probably under one or other of the seven princes above mentioned. There were also various generals of inferior dignities in different parts of the country, who had independent commands,[1] owing allegiance only to Pianchi. Upper Egypt, from the vicinity of Hermopolis (lat. 27° 47'), appears to have been completely annexed into the kingdom of Nubia, and to have had no subordinate or tributary princes.

It is impossible to say at what time in Pianchi's reign, prior to his twenty-first year, the original establishment of his authority over Egypt took place; but his stele contains no indication that the state was recent. On the whole, it would seem to be most probable that he began to extend his sway over Upper Egypt soon after his accession,[2] which cannot have been much later than B.C. 755,[3] and, gradually advancing towards the north, became master of the Delta, and so of all

[1] Compare the *strategi* under the Persian system, who were quite independent of the *satraps* (Herodot. iii. 89). See also *Herodotus*, i. 2, pp. 50–7.

[2] The *great* efforts of warlike princes were almost always made in their early years. It was to the time of vigour and the desire of conquest that princes were almost especially tempted. Great princes were almost especially tempted to carry out what was the object of conquest—consolidating their power.

[3] These dates must be regarded as exact, but approximate. It depends on the following considerations. Shabaka's reign is known by a synchronism with Hezekiah (2 Kings xviii. 4) to have begun B.C. 725 or 724. Hezekiah's whole reign is known to have been twenty-nine years—viz. B.C. 760–731. Pianchi had reigned twenty-one years before he received the present of horses from Tou, which was probably the last year of Hezekiah's reign. A moderate estimate for his reign would be twenty-five years. This would make it that year B.C. 750.

Egypt, by B.C. 750. He may then have reigned quietly and peaceably for fifteen or sixteen years, and so have reached the twenty-first year of his sovereignty when the revolt broke out. At that date, Tafnekht, the ruler of Sais and Memphis, suddenly resolved to throw off his allegiance, trusting—it would appear partly to his power, partly to his remoteness from Napata. Setting up the Nile with multitudes of warriors from the whole (western) land following him,[1] he occupied the country on both sides of the river, including the Fayoum,[2] as far as Heracleopolis Magna (lat. 29° 11′), without—so far as appears—encountering any opposition. "Every city, both of the west and of the east, opened its gates to him."[3] Heracleopolis seems to have ventured to stand a siege,[4] but was taken. Tafnekht then advanced on Hermopolis, and so alarmed the king, Namrut, that, after razing one of his forts in order to prevent it from falling into the enemy's hands, he gave up the idea of resistance, and joined the rebellion.[5] About the same time, several other of the subject monarchs, as Osarkon of Bubastis, Bekenranef, and Apot,[6] gave in their adhesion to Tafnekht, and brought their forces to swell the numbers of his army.

Meanwhile, Piankhi, having received intelligence of the revolt, sent a strong body of troops down the Nile under the command of two generals, who would, he hoped, be able to defeat and disperse the rebels

[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. x. p. 39, l. 9.

[2] Tafnekht is represented as marching from the west upon Heracleopolis, which he occupied after crossing the Fayoum. See Lenormant and Babelon's *Ancient History of the Eastern World*, vol. i. p. 427. At the time, it was supposed that he had come from Sais; but the inscription of Piankhi, which is commonly known as the "Stele of Piankhi," makes it clear that he came from the west.

[3] *Records of the Past*, vol. x. p. 39, l. 10.

[4] Lenormant and Babelon's *Ancient History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 262, l. 1, and note 1.

[5] Inscription on the Stele of Piankhi, translated by Chabas, *Revue Archéologique*, 1858, p. 129. The same name was read by Brugsch (*History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 247, note 1) as Tafnekht I., which is commonly written as Tefnekht.

[6] Apot.

without his own interposition.[1] The expedition was at first successful. On its way down the river, below Thebes, it fought with the advancing fleet of the enemy and completely defeated it. The rebel chiefs, abandoning Hermopolis and the middle Nile, fell back upon Heracleopolis, or Heracleopolis where they concentrated their forces and awaited a second attack. This was not long deferred. Piankhi's army, having besieged and taken Hermopolis,[2] descended the river to Sebennytus, gave the confederates a second naval defeat, and then disembarking followed up their success with another great victory on land, completely routing the enemy, and driving them to take refuge in Lower Egypt or in the towns along the banks of the Nile below Heracleopolis. But now a strange reverse of fortune befell them. Nimrod, the Hermopolitan leader, fearing that his capital was in the enemy's power, resolved on a bold attempt to retake it, and, leaving Heracleopolis with a number of ships and troops, quitted his confederates, sailed up the Nile, besieged the Ethiopian garrison which had been left to hold the city, overpowered them, and recovered the place.[3] Hereupon Piankhi made up his mind that a known personal presence was necessary in order to crush the revolt. Quitting Napata in the first month of the year, he crossed Thebes in the second,[4] and after performing sundry religious ceremonies in honour of the great god, Ammon, advanced against Hermopolis, pitched his camp to the south west of the city, and prepared to take it by storm. Towers were raised to

[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. [illegible], p. 358, § 22. Lenormant, Manuel d'Histoire, vol. i. p. [illegible]. [2] Ibid. p. [illegible]. [illegible] p. 362. Lenormant, vol. i. p. [illegible]. Compare [illegible]. [3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. [illegible]. *Records of the Past*, vol. [illegible] p. [illegible].

a greater height than the walls, from which the archers shot into the city, and two outposts upon swivel-stones [illegible] with such effect, that in a short time the town [illegible] could not bear the stench of the corpses and insisted on a surrender. Samsu consented. Having first softened the great king's heart by sending his wife as a suppliant to Pamaka's tent, to prostrate herself before his wives, daughters, and sisters, and beseech their intercession in her favour, he himself came forth from the city and presented himself before Pamaka in regal yet humble fashion, leading his horse with his left hand, and holding a sceptre in his right.

Back [illegible] Samsu and Nanny and others.

He instructed whatever it was usual for worshippers to approach a god. Pamaka had this scene engraved at a later date on the monument which he set up to record his victories,[1] and it is to these scenes we owe so much impressed by it, and to have deduced to record Samsu's humiliation.

Ishtarbast, king of Hamathopoli-Magna, who shortly after Samsu's surrender was treated with equal ruthlessness. Pamaka seems to have left Samsu sufficiently strong enough to [illegible]

[1] See Appendix, *Monument Pamaka*, where a [illegible] accompanying woodcut is taken.

[illegible] some doubt whether this is [illegible] Pamaka and Samsu as enemies, but the [illegible] Pamaka as conqueror and Samsu as submissive suppliant.

press the revolt without the help of any of the subject princes, and reserved the question of punishing them for declaring their alliance until the struggle should be over.

Intent on putting down all opposition, Pianchi now proceeded from Heracleopolis along the course of the Nile towards Memphis, receiving the submission of the princes on either bank of the river upon his way, and in a short time appeared before the southern capital and summoned it to surrender at discretion.[1] But Tafnekht had recently paid the city a visit, strengthened its defences, augmented its supplies, and left within its garrison with an addition of 5,000 men, the express purpose of repulsing its assailants. Resistance was therefore resolved upon; the gates were closed, the walls manned, and Pianchi challenged to do his worst. Then, was his Majesty furious against them like a panther.[2] Collecting vessels of every sort on the river, and taking the command in person, he attacked the city from the water, brought his ships close to the walls, and, using the masts and yards of the vessels for ladders, succeeded in forming a practicable road for his troops after a great slaughter. Nimrod, Peleus, and Merkanesdat, a leader of mercenaries, upon this superadded and armed resistance to the authority of Pianchi ceased. Two chiefs, however, had still to make their submission, Tafnekht, the leader of the rebellion, and Osorkon, the prince of Bubastis. Proceeding against the latter, Pianchi had reached Heracleopolis, where he was received with acclamations and

[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. [illegible] not be included in this work [illegible] gory.
Pianchi proved [illegible] [2] Diod. p. 85 [illegible] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, [illegible]
[illegible] 1 251, last ed.

hailed as 'indestructible Horus,'[1] when Osirkon, seeing that resistance was hopeless, came into his camp and did homage. Nothing remained but that Tafnekht should bow to fortune. That prince, after the capture of Memphis, had fled beyond the seas—to Cyprus, as one writer conjectures[2]—and was thus at no personal danger; but the detention of a refugee is irksome, and Piankhi has shown himself so clement to the other chiefs that even the arch rebel felt he might perhaps be forgiven. Ufraukat, therefore, from his island refuge sent an embassy to Tanakht, with a sufficiently humble message, 'desiring pardon and proffering a new oath of fealty.' The Ethiopian monarch accepted the overture; the oath was taken, the pacification of Egypt effected; and, amid music and song,[3] the conqueror descended the Nile, and returned, laden with the good things of Egypt, Syria, and Arabia, to his own capital city, Napata.

It would seem that Egypt was not treated in the previous generation, all the rebel chiefs being allowed to resume their several governments and to exercise the same powers as before. Tanakht showed himself of a mild and merciful disposition, deposing none, but content to take from each portion of his territories, and not even

[1] *Records of the Past*, vol. ii. p. 99, § 105.

[2] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 92. It seems more likely that he was only driven out of the Nile valley (Rawlinson, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 243, 2nd ed.).

[3] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 21–23 (2nd ed.).

[4] The translation of Tanakht-Meriamun's message is as follows: "When his Majesty moored up the river, his heart was glad, and he became rejoiced with mirth. The inhabitants of the west and east rose to make melody at his Majesty's approach. To the mien of the conqueror they sang: 'O king, thou comest! O beloved of Amen, thou comest! O king! Thou hast come and seen Lower Egypt; thou rulest the countries with thy sceptre. The nations thy enemies, whom thou hast seen, for he who begat thee has given to thee the power of mighty Hapimen [the Nile]. Thou hast come, O cow with the beautiful horns! Thou shalt live and not die. Thy eyes are made open [to see] and thou seest. Thy ears are made open [to hear]. Thou hearest what is said to thee. Thou art [as] Horus, the son of Isis, who protected his father Osiris.'" (Chabas, *Les Inscriptions des Rois Ethiopiens à Thèbes*, in the *Revue Archéologique*, 1862, p. 16.)

the hostages, but trusted that their experience of the futility of revolt would prevent the Greeks from making any further efforts.

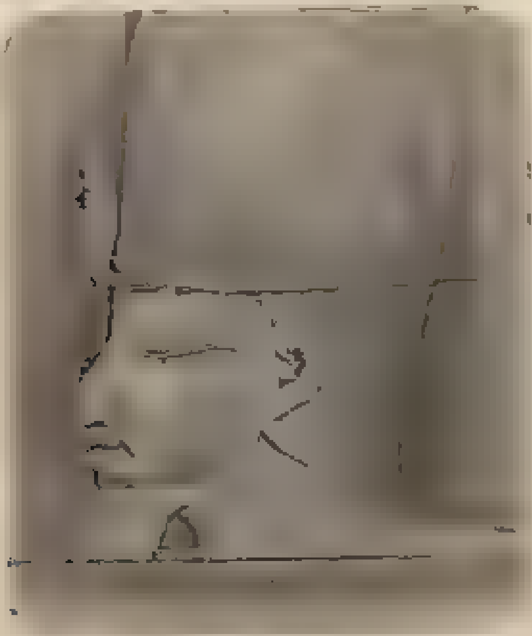
It is uncertain whether or not he personally witnessed the last operations of his expedition. Egypt revolted and threw off the Persian yoke within a few years of its recomposition, but perhaps not until Darius himself had been gathered to his fathers. The leader of the rebellion on this occasion was a certain Khabbash, whose name, , when the brackets and Egyptian determinatives are removed, is found to be identical with that of Psammetichus, a prince of Sais, and probably a scion of the royal house.[1] The circumstances of his revolt are wholly unknown to us, since the monuments are silent, and the Greek writers were unaware of the existence of Egypt by Persian. Psammetichus is regarded by the Greeks as a somewhat remarkable personage, both in book and avaricious, but with a certain reputation for wisdom, and the author of laws which still the people of his country.[2] According to Africanus Manetho gave him a reign of six years only, and his statement has found acceptance with the Apostolic Canon, which is accepted as partially marking the real duration of his reign. The Ethiopians, and probably stronger at this period than the Egyptians, are not likely to have submitted to a long respite, and when Sabaco, who had

[1] See Brugsch, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 730, and Lepsius, *Königsbuch*, pl. 30, cf. pl. 31, where the name of Psammetichus of Sais a little before the name of Psammetichus of Bubastis.

[2] Ap. Synccll. *Chronographia*, p. 72.

[3] Manetho, *Fragmenta*, ed. Müller, p. 578.

successor, Piankhi at Napata, remained in the condition which Piankhi had been, it is evident that Bocchoris was unable to make a prolonged resistance. Sabaco, a genuine Ethiopian,[1] and unlike Piankhi more than half an Egyptian, used his rights of conqueror to the full, employed large numbers of the inhabitants in



Head of Shabak

forced labours,[2] and, by way of a warning to others, burnt Bocchoris alive for his rebellion.[3]

[illegible] ... traits, prognathous, and with ... [illegible]

[illegible] ... of all the towns. Shabak probably ... remain ... all the ... [illegible]

[3] [illegible] ... Chronograph ... [illegible]

The reign of Shabak, , or Sabaco, over Egypt is estimated by Manetho at twelve years, and his date is also found upon the monuments[1] as a *terminus ante*, which may have been exceeded. According to Herodotus,[2] he transferred his residence from Ethiopia to Egypt, where he certainly set up monuments, both at Thebes and at Memphis.[3] It was probably soon after his accession[4] that he received an embassy from Hoshea, king of Israel, requesting his assistance against Assyria, and and to consider whether he would venture to provoke the hostility of that mighty empire.

A time had been when Egypt was the aggressor, and carried her arms deep into Asia, reducing (as we have seen)[5] Assyria to a province, and forcing her kings to pay an annual tribute. But that time was a very distant one, seven centuries, or more, had passed away since the great Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty barred the Mesopotamian plains and struck terror into the hearts of the kings of Assur. Now for about one century and a half the power of Assyria had been in the ascendant,[6] she had continually

[1] See Brugsch, *Egypt's Place in Universal History*, vol. i. p. 422, and Stuart Poole, *Dict. of the Bible*, art. "Egypt," p. 7. Lepsius would place the accession of Shabak somewhat later, and Dr. Birch even speaks of his being "supposed to have reigned over Egypt" from [illegible]

[2] Herod. ii. 137. Diodorus had it from Hecataeus that he resided at Memphis.

[3] Shabak's name is found on the monuments of Karnak, Esneh, Edfu, Kom Ombos, Silsilis, and Gebel Barkal. He appears also to have set up a statue of Menephtah at Memphis. Mariette, *Monuments divers*, pl. 30, and also a statue of Rameses II. at Tanis. Mariette, *Monuments divers*, pl. 31. The latter monument was discovered by him in the temple of Ptah at Memphis.

[4] Lepsius, *Die zehn Ägyptischen Königsgräber*, p. 13, places the accession of Shabak in B.C. 715, but this is probably too late. Mariette, *Monuments divers*, p. 31, places the accession of Shabaka in B.C. 730. Brugsch, *Egypt under the Pharaohs*, vol. ii. p. 315, places it in B.C. 728. Dr. Birch, in the *Records of the Past*, vol. xii. p. 109, says that Shabaka's reign "commenced about B.C. 720." Dr. Birch's date is probably the best. See the Table of Contemporaneous Sovereigns of Assyria and Egypt, vol. iii. p. 2, and the notes as to the grounds where they were set up.

[5] The Assyrian embassy and [illegible] have been mentioned in connection with the siege of Samaria by Shalmaneser, which was at the close of his reign. It was most probably in B.C. 724 that [illegible] is to be regarded as the year of Sabaco's accession.

[6] See the account of the Ancient Monarchies, vol. ii. pp. 93–103, and ed.

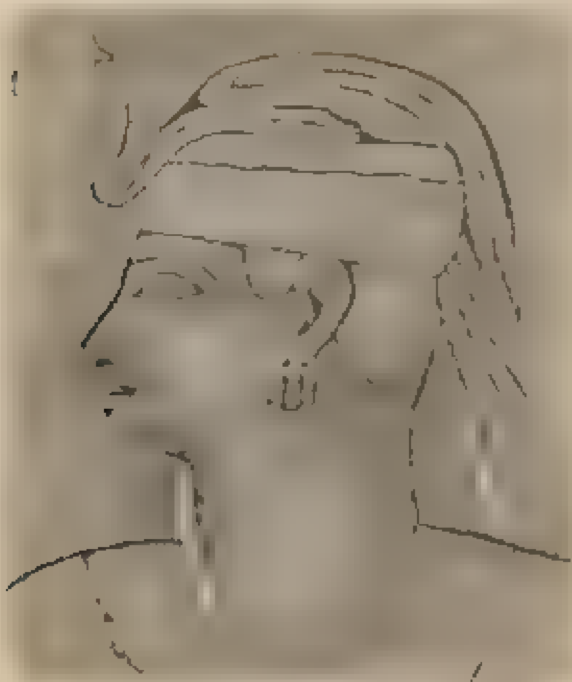
advanced her limits, the Euphrates had been crossed; Upper Syria, Phœnicia, Hamath, the kingdom of Damascus, brought under subjection, and at length an attack was made upon that country which Egypt might well consider almost her last bulwark upon the north-east—which she looked upon as properly her own, as over-wide, so far as the time of Shishonk I., so long actually exercising sovereignty. Shabak, as an Ethiopian, might not feel keenly the changes in the relative position of the two countries, but as head of the priesthood he ought to have watched the growth of Assyria, and thought of how best to resist an invading power, and not remained wholly unconscious of the danger. He encouraged Hoshea to defy the power of the Assyrians, and thereby, from circumstances which are unknown to us, he did not succeed in his aim, yet, a year or two later (B.C. 720), he met the advancing host of Assyria conquest on the southern limits of Palestine and fought a great battle in defence of the country whereof he had become king.[1] The battle of Raphia is one of the turning points in the world's history. There for the first time was the relative strength of Asia and Africa tested in open combat on a large scale. It was one of the battles that Africa succumbed. Shabak was completely defeated by the great Sargon, the builder of Khorsabad, and founder of the last and greatest Assyrian dynasty. His army was routed, and he was forced to seek safety in flight. It was probably soon afterwards that he concluded that treaty with the Assyrians, the seal of which, containing his cartouche, was found by Layard on the site of Nineveh.[2]

If Shabak reigned twelve years only, he must have

[1] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 142-5, 2nd ed.

[2] Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, p. 154.

been succeeded by Shabatok, [hieroglyphs], about B.C. 712. Sargon was at this time [illegible] king of Assyria, and at the zenith of his power. In B.C. 715 he had conquered part of Arabia, and received tribute from Egypt;[1] in B.C. 711, he took Ashdod, as noticed by Isaiah.[2] In the same year he seems to have received



Head of Shabataka.

[illegible] of Pir'u [illegible] the king of Musri. He says, [illegible] and [illegible] my [illegible] towards Assyria [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Shabatok is probably the monarch intended; and it would seem that, through fear of the Assyrian power, he must have undertaken a journey into some part of Sargon's dominions[1] for the purpose of bowing down before his footstool and doing him homage.

Shabatok probably reigned about fourteen years[2]—from B.C. 712 to B.C. 698. He has left very few monuments of himself. In a sculpture, given by Rosellini,[3] he makes an offering to Ammon Ra and Mut; in one, given by Mariette,[4] he receives life from Neith; and a sitting statue of him, much broken, has been found on the site of Memphis. Of this last he calls himself Mi Phtah, "lover of Ptah;" but his more ordinary epithet was Mer Ammon, "beloved by Ammon." In personal appearance he would seem to have much resembled Shebek, who was probably his father, but his style was larger and more massive, and he represents himself as without a beard. It is remarkable that both he and his predecessor went back for their throne-names to the early period of Egyptian history, Shabatok calling himself Neferkara, , a form of name not borne by any king since the tenth dynasty,[5] and Shabatok Tekarta, , one not borne since the fifth.[7]

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[3] [illegible]

[4] [illegible]

[5] [illegible]

[7] [illegible] Ismany having been named Takarta.

The immediate successor of Shabataka appears to have been Tirhakah, whom Manetho names the third Ethiopian king. The form of his name in Egyptian is Taharqa or Taharqo, which Manetho rendered by Tarakos,[1] and the later Greeks by Tearkon.[2] His monuments are found at Memphis, at Mesopotamia, at Thebes, and at Napata. It is not improbable that from Napata he exercised the supreme authority over Egypt even during the reign of Shabataka, and it appears to have been with him that Hezekiah negotiated,[3] when the continued existence of Judæa was menaced by Sennacherib. Sennacherib has, in B.C. 701, taken Ascalon and Lachish, defeated an Egyptian army which advanced to the relief of the latter city,[4] ravaged Judæa, and made Hezekiah tributary, after which he had returned to Nineveh. The Ethiopian monarch took advantage of his absence to send an embassy to Egypt and received such encouragement that, in the next year, Sennacherib deemed it necessary to march a second time[5] into Palestine, B.C. 699, for the purpose of crushing both Judæa and Egypt. Hezekiah, the Egyptians as our main enemy, and hearing that Tirhakah was on his way to oppose him, he must had just Jerusalem, by way of Libnah and Lachish, towards Pelusium, and found there an Egyptian army encamped under a leader whom Herodotus calls Sethos, possibly Shabataka, but more probably[6] another Egyptian sub-king, whom

[1] Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* Lac. Script. i. p. 148.

[2] See 2 Kings xix. 9. At any rate it was Tirhakah who received there of Hezekiah (xix. 9) and who must have been Lord-paramount of Egypt at the time.

[3] See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii. pp. 150–59, 2nd ed.

[4] 2 Kings xviii. 13–16.

[5] Ibid. verses 17 et seqq.

[6] See Herodotus, ii. 141. Pelusium was the usual point at which Egypt was entered from the north-east.

[7] I assume Shabataka and Sethos, who are commonly regarded as identical, to be properly regarded as identical. Manetho's Sethos, who was a priest, was probably a descendant of the Memphian Pishaki, to whom power was given by Shabataka. It must

Shabatok or Tirhakah had established at Memphis. The two hosts were encamped opposite each other, when in the night occurred that terrible calamity, explained by different writers in different ways,[1] whereby the Assyrians were utterly discomfited, their invasion brought to an end, and Egypt for the present relieved from any danger of further attack. Sabatok having soon afterwards died, Tirhakah established himself as sole ruler of Egypt (B.C. 693), and probably transferred his abode from Napata to Memphis, where so many of his monuments have been discovered.

It is chiefly in a religious character that Tirhakah appears in his sculptures and inscriptions. In a temple which he built to Osiris Pthah at Memphis, he represents himself in one tablet[2] as cherished by Isis, whom he calls "the great goddess," "the mother of all the gods," while in another[3] he receives life from Mentu, and in a third pours a libation to Osiris Pthah.[4] An Apis is recorded as having died in his twenty-fourth, and another as having been born in his twenty-sixth year.[5] He is, however, exhibited at Medinet Abou in the dress of a warrior,[6] smiting with a mace his captive enemies, and celebrated in Greek tradition as a great conquering king who carried his victorious arms among the whole of North Africa as far as the Pillars of Hercules;[7] but it is quite uncertain whether these traditions have any basis of truth. We

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be remembered that Egypt at this time was full of Arabians (Compare Is. xx. 1, 11, 13).

[1] As ascribed by the historian to pestilence, or by the direct visitation of God.

[2] Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 79.

[3] Ibid. pl. 83.

[4] Ibid. pl. 87.

[5] Mariette, *Serapeum de Memphis*, pp. 26 and 28.

[6] Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cl.

[7] Megasthenes, Fr. 29.

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[1] Ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* Lac. p. 81.

[2] Strab. I. 3. § 21.

[3] See 2 Kings xviii. 21. At any rate it was Tirhakah who moved to his relief, as it was Tirhakah who was afterwards lord paramount of Egypt at the time.

[4] See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. iii. p. 156–160, 2nd ed.

[5] 2 Kings xviii. 13–16.

[6] Isaiah xxxvii. 9 et seqq.

[7] See Herodotus, ii. 141. Pelusium was the main point at which Egypt was entered from the north-east.

[8] The names Shabatok and Sethos are too remote to be properly regarded as identical. Moreover Sethos is said to have been contemporary of the Memphian Phthah, a title never given to Shabatok. It must

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[2] Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 79.

[3] Ibid. pl. 86.

[4] Ibid. pl. 87.

[5] Mariette, *Serapeum de Memphis*, pp. 29 and 30.

[6] Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, pl. cl.

[7] Megasthenes, Fr. 20.

have no native accounts of the circumstances of his reign, which *seems* to have been eventless, or nearly so, from the destruction of Sennacherib's army to the great invasion of Egypt by Esarhaddon.

Esarhaddon, the son of Sennacherib, succeeded him upon the Assyrian throne in B.C. 681. He was one of the most warlike of all the Assyrian monarchs,[1] and having, during the first nine years of his reign, established the authority of Nineveh over Armenia, Babylonia, Chaldæa, Phœnicia, and Arabia, he in B.C. 672 determined on wiping out the memory of his father's Palestine disaster by effecting, if possible, the conquest of Egypt. Marching from Aphek in Lebanon along the coast of Palestine to Raphia, and obtaining, like Cambyses at a later date,[2] supplies of water from an Arabian sheikh,[3] he passed the desert in safety, and, entering Egypt, gained a great battle over the forces of Tirhakah in the lower country, took Memphis and Thebes, and drove Tirhakah to take refuge in Ethiopia. Having thus made himself master of the country, he broke it up into twenty governments, appointing rulers—some Assyrian, but most of them native Egyptians—over the twenty most important cities or districts.[4] These were Thebes itself, Memphis and Sais, which were united, Tanis, Sebennytus, Athribis, Nathô, Pemptê, Heracleopolis, Mendes, Busiris, Mometopolis, This, Hermopolis, Lycopolis, &c. Among the rulers were a Shesh'nk, probably descended from Shesh'nk

[1] See the inscription translated by Mr. Smith in his *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 100.

[2] Herod. iii. 9.

[3] Rawlinson, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 100.

[4] Lenormant, *Manuel de l'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. iii. p. 104. The lists vary somewhat from one another, and the names of the princes and their cities were first discovered by Sir H. Rawlinson, whose paper on the subject is in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature*, New Series, vol. x. p. 1. Of late years many more documents have been published in England and abroad.

of the twenty-second dynasty, a Tafnekht, a Petubastes, and a Nero. The last named chief, who was ruler of Sais and Memphis, is no doubt the father of the first Psamatik:[1] and we may presume that, not very long after his accession, he associated that prince upon the throne, since Psamatik counts the years of his reign from B.C. 667.[2] Egypt remained for three years in this condition—subject to Assyria, and split up into twenty governments or states. Tirhakah's reign appeared to have come wholly to an end, and the Ethiopian dominion to have terminated.

But the Ethiopians were merely to bring their time. Tirhakah had withdrawn to Napata or to Meroe, where he kept watch upon events. No sooner did Esarhaddon, in B.C. 669, show signs of physical decay, than Tirhakah issued from his Ethiopian fastnesses, ascended the valley of the Nile, expelled the kings set up by Esarhaddon, and re-established his authority over the whole country.[3] The kings fled to Nineveh, where they found Ashur-ban-apal, the son of Esarhaddon, established in power. Learning from them what had happened, he at once put his forces in motion, and in B.C. 668 led them through Syria and Palestine into Egypt, defeated the Egyptians and Ethiopians in a great battle near Karbanit, stormed Memphis and Thebes, and forced Tirhakah once more to take refuge in his own proper country.[4] After this he returned, having first reinstated the princes in their former

[1] Herod. ii. 152.

[2] The sixty-four years of the reign of Psammetichus I. commencing, according to the new Assyrian canon, in B.C. 667 or B.C. 666. See Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 277, and compare Wiedemann, *Die aethiopischen Königsinschriften des Berliner Museums*, p. 121, who makes the date B.C. 664, and Stuart Poole in Smith's *Dictionary of the Bible*, vol. iii. p. 2214, who makes it B.C. 663.

[3] Records of the Past, vol. ii. p. 126.

[4] Ibid. p. 201.

governments and strengthened the Assyrian garrisons in the various towns.

But the contest was not yet over. The tributary monarchs themselves had grown weary of the Assyrian yoke, and were inclined to prefer the Ethiopians. Any subjection to one power or the other was a necessity. They intrigued with Tirhakah, and though some of them were arrested and sent to Nineveh,[1] yet the rebellious spirit smouldered on, and, Lower Egypt

Head of Tirhakah.

being in a state of disturbance, Tirhakah again invaded the upper country, took Thebes, and prepared to march upon Memphis. Necho was sent from Nineveh to oppose him, and Tirhakah in alarm evacuated Thebes, and returning to Napata, there died (B.C. 667). His stepson, Rutamun, the Urdamané of the Assyrian inscriptions,[2] succeeded him, and immediately applied himself to the task of maintaining the Ethiopian power. Descending the Nile, he reoccupied Thebes and Memphis, cleared Egypt of the Assyrians, and made himself

[1] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 202.

[2] G. Smith, *History of Assurbanipal*, pp. 47, 62, &c.

master of the whole country. Assurbanipal, upon this, undertook the conduct of the war in person, marched an army into Egypt, drove Rut-ammon from Memphis to Thebes, and from Thebes to Kipkipi, an unknown town of Nubia—thus, for the fourth time, establishing the Assyrian authority over the country. It would seem that Rut-ammon, shortly after this, died in Nubia, and was succeeded by Miammon-Nut,[1] who was perhaps a son of Tirhakah.[2]

Miammon-Nut tells us[3] that in the year of his accession to the throne (about B.C. 660) he had a remarkable dream in the night. Two serpents[4] appeared to him, the one on his right hand, the other on his left. He woke to find that they had vanished, and at once consulted the interpreters as to the meaning of the vision. It was explained to signify that all Egypt would one day be his—the Lower country as well as the Upper; the sword was given to him as its length and as its breadth; Ammon would be with him and prosper him.[5] Miammon-Nut accepted the interpretation, and marched upon Egypt at the head of a hundred thousand men.[6] In Upper Egypt it would

[1] [illegible] *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 170–171. Compare [illegible] *Memoirs of Herodotus* [illegible] vol. i. pp. 404–5. Dr. Brugsch renders Miammon-Nut's name Pimiamen. Compare Birch, *History of Egypt* [illegible] p. 458 [illegible].

[2] The close connection of Miammon-Nut with Tirhakah is strongly evidenced by the similarity and resemblance of the Pathos-Egyptian temple at Memphis, which Tirhakah probably began, but which must have been completed by Miammon-Nut. In the sculptures they are represented as if they were both reigning together, Tirhakah in Lower and Miammon-Nut in Upper Egypt (Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pl. 88).

[3] See *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 85. Compare Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 270 [illegible].

[4] The serpent upon the [illegible], or, [illegible], was the hieroglyphic for 'crown' or 'kingdom,' whence the interpretation.

[5] *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 89, §§ 5, 6.

[6] So Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 270, § 2. Instead Mariette reconstructs 1,000,000 men (*Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 82, note 1), but the number is scarcely a possible one.

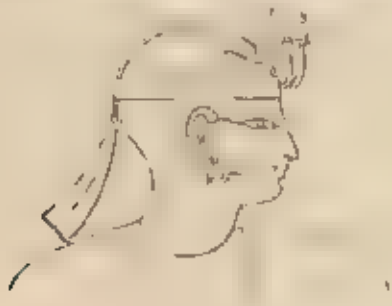
seem that he was hailed as a deliverer. Under the Assyrians, who were probably still dominant, though nothing is said of them, the temples had gone to decay, the statues of the gods were overturned, the temple revenues were confiscated, and the priests restrained from the exercise of their offices. Meeamoun-Nut proclaimed himself the champion of religion. He visited the temples, led the images in procession, offered sacrifices, and paid every respect to the priestly colleges. Accordingly 'even those whose intention had been to fight were moved with joy.'[1] Acclamations were everywhere raised. 'Go onward in the peace of thy name,' they said, 'go onward in the peace of thy name!' Dispersing him throughout all the land—that he temples may be restored which are hastening to ruin, that the statues of the gods may be set up after their manner; that their revenues may be given to the gods and goddesses, and the offerings for the dead to the deceased, that the priest may be established in his place, and all things be fulfilled according to the holy Ritual.'[2] It was not till he reached Memphis that any opposition was made. There a battle was fought without the walls, and a decisive victory gained;[3] after which Memphis was occupied, and the enlargement and beautification of the temple of Phtah commenced. The chapel of Phtah-Sokari-Osiris, recently uncovered by M. Mariette, which is full of Meeamoun-Nut's sculptures and inscriptions,[4] was no doubt taken in hand and highly decorated, its stones being overlaid with gold, its pan-

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 252, § 10, and vol. iii. p. 261, §§ 14–17.

[2] *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 83, § 17.

[3] See Mariette, *Monuments Divers*, pls. 70–72.

ebony made of acacia-wood scented with frankincense, its doors of polished copper, and their fittings of iron.[1] Sud, the princes of the Delta, Assyrian feudatories, hesitated to come in, and Mi-ammon-Nut after a while proceeded against them with his troops. The princes shut themselves up in their towns, and unwilling to waste his time in sieges, the Ethiopian returned to Memphis, and probably commenced separate negotiations with the various chiefs. The result was that ere long they made up their minds to submit, and by the mouth of Pagur, king of Pisapti,



Head of Mi-ammon-Nut.

placed themselves, their lives, and their possessions, at his disposal. The act of humiliation was accepted, their lives were spared, and after receiving hospitable entertainment they were sent back to their several towns, to govern them as Ethiopian and no longer as Assyrian vassals. Finally, Mi-ammon-Nut, having on his return brought firmly established his power, sailed up the Nile amid general rejoicing, and returned to Napata.[2]

But this expedition, which had seemed to rivet the Ethiopian yoke on the necks of the Egyptians, has in

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 254, 1st ed. [2] Ibid. p. 254. *Records of the Past*, vol. iv. p. 96.

fast to their shaking it off. On the one hand, the attack showed the princes the evils of divided empire, and suggested the idea of their placing themselves under a chief. On the other, the non-interference of the Assyrians in the quarrel rendered it plain that their power was on the decline, and that the Egyptians had not much to fear from them. After having been a shuttlecock between Ethiopia and Assyria for some ten or twelve years, Egypt resolved on an endeavour to detach herself wholly from both. How Meammon Nut's authority was shaken off we do not know. Perhaps he died, and left no successor of sufficient energy to attempt the difficult task of holding in subjection a great nation, possessed of a higher civilisation than that of his own. Perhaps he made a struggle to retain his authority, but was worsted. All that is known is, that, from a point in the year B.C. 650, the Ethiopian dominion over Egypt ceased. It had lasted, with interruptions, a little more or a little less than a century.[1] Egypt had derived no advantage whatever from the connection, had improved neither in arts nor arms, and could show not a single monument of any sculptor or artist's excellence for which she was indebted to her conquerors.[2] The influence of the great Negro power was altogether depressing and debasing, and if under the new dynasty, which succeeded, the Egyptians showed any advance in civilisation or in any of the arts, it was owing, not to the closer contact with their southern neighbours, but to an influence which reached them from the north.

[1] From about B.C. 730, when Piankhi would not hear of making [illegible] (see above, p. 437), to B.C. 650, when the Ethiopian effort of the Ethiopians ceased.

[2] The work added to the temple of Medinet-Abou by Tirhakah is not without merit, but cannot be said to possess real artistic excellence.

CHAPTER XXVI.

THE TWENTY SIXTH DYNASTY. (B.C. 650–527.)

Depressed State of Egypt at the Close of the Ethiopic Rule. Communications between Psammetichus and Lygdis of Lydia. Battle of Momemphis and Establishment of the Power of Psammetichus over the whole of Egypt. Personal Appearance and reputed Libyan Origin of Psammetichus. Settlement of the Greeks at Naucratis. Revolt and Secession of the Warriors. Other Results of the Greek Influx. Psammetichus a rather feudal. He keeps off the Scyths. His Buildings. Accession of Neco. His two Fleets. His Ship-canal. His Circumnavigation of Africa. His Expedition to Carchemish. Counter-expedition of Nebuchadnezzar. Reign of Psammetichus II. His War with Ethiopia. Reign of Apries. His Great War with Nebuchadnezzar. His Disastrous War. His Second Babylonian War and Deposition. His Obelisk and Inscriptions. Reign of Amasis. Condition of Egypt under him. He conquers Cyprus and enters alliance with Lydia. His great Works. His Home Policy. Short Reign of Psammetichus III. Egypt conquered by Cambyses. Civilization and Art under the Twenty-sixth Dynasty. Novelties in Religion. Changes in Manners. Conclusion.

THE long struggle of the Ethiopians and Assyrians for the mastery over Egypt, the rapid advances and retreats executed by the armies of both powers in the course of the various campaigns—advances and retreats which generally commenced at one extremity of the Nile Valley and terminated at the other—must have inflicted an amount of injury on the country and people which can scarcely be estimated, must have half ruined the towns, and have carried desolation over the broad and fertile plains on either side of the river. The great city of Thebes—so long the admiration of the

Greeks,[1] and probably for many ages quite the most magnificent city in the world, passed into a by-word for depression and decay in consequence of the long-continued troubles. 'Art thou better than populous No,' Nineveh was asked,[2] 'that was situate among the rivers, that had the waters round about it, whose rampart was the flood? Yet she was carried away—she went into captivity.' And the fate which befell Thebes was shared by Memphis, Heracleopolis, Hermopolis, Hasebek,[3] and by the great majority of the other towns. Nor could the ruin be readily repaired. The petty princes, vassals either of Assyria or Ethiopia, were neither sufficiently assured of their position, nor sufficiently rich, to undertake works of the cost and magnitude entailed in order to restore the ruined edifices and obliterate the marks of invasion. Thus Egypt, towards the middle of the seventh century B.C., was reduced to a condition of extreme wretchedness and depression, from which it could scarcely have been anticipated that a revival would ever take place—far less so rapid and complete a revival as that which was actually effected under the battle-axe of the great twenty-sixth dynasty.

The signal for the movement which resulted in this revival was given in the far-off country of Babylonia. There, about B.C. 650,[4] a brother of the great Assyrian monarch, Asshurbanipal, raised the standard of revolt against his suzerain, and, in conjunction with the neighbouring country of Elam or Susiana, commenced a struggle for independence. At the same time, an

[1] See Hom. *Il.* ix. 381–4; Herod. ii. 9, 15; Diod. Sic. i. 31, 45; Strab. xvii. 1, § 46.

[2] Nahum iii. 8 *sq.*

[3] See above, pp. 438–44.

[4] G. Smith, *History of Assurbanipal*, p. 341. The exact date given is B.C. 652.

order to distract the efforts of his adversary, he sent emissaries to various distant countries, and among them to Egypt,[1] with the object of exciting the subject nations to throw off the Assyrian yoke, pointing out to them that they had now an excellent opportunity of regaining their freedom. It seems to have been this invitation, rather than any quarrel with his brother princes,[2] that caused Psammetichus, at this time king of Sais, to form the project of reuniting Egypt into a single monarchy, and at the same time of relieving his country from any, even nominal, dependence on Assyria. But he, however, manifesting his intention by any overt act, he took the precaution of strengthening himself by a distant and powerful alliance. Having learnt that Gyges, king of Lydia, a rich and warlike monarch, was ill-affected towards the Assyrian power,[3] which had recently been extended over his country, he sent an embassy to Sardis, with a request for a contingent of troops. Gyges assented,[4] and a body of soldiers, drawn chiefly from the Carians and the Ionian Greeks[5]—who were at this time in his service[6]—was despatched from Asia to Africa, to help Psammetichus against the Assyrians and the Assyrian vassal-kings. By the aid of these foreign auxiliaries, the Saite monarch was completely successful. In a battle near Momemphis[7]—the modern Mitrouf—he signally

[1] Compare *History of Ancient Egypt*, p. [illegible]. Egypt is not definitely named, though the word used is Mimma (Memphis or Egypt).

[2] As related by Herodotus (i. 15) and Diodorus (i. 66).

[3] Compare *History of Ancient Egypt*, p. [illegible].

[4] Herodotus (i. 152), who, however, knows nothing of their employment by Gyges.

[5] Compare also Herodotus (ii. [illegible]). Herodotus (i. [illegible]) and Diodorus (i. [illegible]) call them Leleges. Compare [illegible] (Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. i. p. [illegible]).

[6] Diod. Sic. i. 66.

defeated the combined forces of the vassal monarchs, and, as the result of the victory, placed on his head the double crown, and proclaimed himself 'lord of the two Egypts, the upper and the lower country.'

It is suggested[1] that Psammetichus—or Psamatik, , to give him his native name—was of Libyan

Head of Psammetichus I.

descent, connected with the family of which the arch rebel against the Persians, Inarôs, was also a member.[2] The names Psamatik and Neco, — , are unknown in the Egyptian nomenclature up to this date,

[1] Lepsius, *Ueber die XXII ägyptische Königsdynastie*, p. 301.

[2] Inarôs was the son of a Psamatik (Herod. vii. 7, ad fin.)

and gave no Egyptian etymology. Moreover, the Western Delta was, as we have already seen,[1] peculiarly open to Libyan invasion, and Sais, the chief city of this region, would naturally contain in its population a large Libyan infusion. It is not to be supposed, however, that the Psammetichi were recent immigrants—they had no doubt been long settled in the region, and had gradually raised themselves to a high position among the nobles of Sais. But the physical type of the family was markedly non-Egyptian. Psammetichus has had a more open eye than the ordinary Egyptian one, a nose the reverse of the Egyptian form, which is a little more depressed, lips of moderate thickness, and a large but retreating chin. His skull seems to have been of the shape called 'dolichocephalous,' with a very small development behind the ears.[2] He bore his foreign origin in his very aspect, and therefore hastened to conceal it, and ingratiate himself in the eyes of his subjects, by marrying an Egyptian princess, Shepenût,[3] the daughter of a 'king Tanut,' who himself has descended to the unhonourable position of Bocchoris,[4] the earliest Saite monarch in the dynastic lists.

Having thus strengthened his right to the throne, the prudent ruler proceeded to secure himself the still more important support of might, by permanently engaging the services of those mercenary troops to

[1] See pp. 230, 300, 303 &c.

[2] See the woodcut on the preceding page, which is taken from a mummy-case in the British Museum.

[3] Or Shepenbast, as it is sometimes read on the monuments, which is [illegible]. (See the small, treatise of this writer, *Ueber die XXII ägypt. Königsgruppe*, p. 167 n. 1 [illegible] at the end of the work.

[4] Ibid., and compare Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 175.

whose strong arms he felt that his success was owing, and, having induced them to enlist regularly under his banner, he settled them within a moderate distance of his capital, in two great fortified camps on either side of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile below Bubastis.[1] This proceeding appears to have given offence to the Egyptian warrior class, which was chiefly concentrated in three localities, Daphnæ or Tahpanes, near Pelusium, Marea on the Lake Mareotis, and Elephantine.[2] It was either forgotten that mercenaries had been freely employed by the Ramessids and the Shesonks, or there was something in the extent and character of the new arrangement which made it peculiarly unpalatable. A huge secession of the 'warriors' took place[3] soon after the settlement of the Carians and Ionians in their new 'armour;' and though Psammetichus pursued the deserters into Nubia and sought to arrest their march, he failed to persuade them.[4] Above two hundred thousand of the soldier class, if we may believe Herodotus,[5] and Diodorus,[6] having quitted Egypt, made their way up the Nile to Elephantine, and were settled by the reigning monarch, higher up the course of the river, apparently upon the White Nile,[7] about 14

[1] Herod. ii. 154.

[2] Ibid. and ii. 30. Mr. Grote supposed that the 'camps' of Herodotus and Diodorus near Bubastis were identical with the Delphic gymnasium (*History of Greece*, vol. iv. p. 467, ed. of 1862). But this is nowhere stated.

[3] The latest writer on this period (Dr. Wiedemann) pronounces the whole story of the mutiny to be a fiction, and says that the Egyptian monuments (*Herodotos des Aegyptischen Zweites Buch*, p. 137). But this would seem to be an excess of scepticism. The narrative, in general terms, is accepted as true by Wilkinson, Grote, Lenormant, Birch, Poole, and others. I see no reason to doubt it.

[4] Herod. ii. 30.

[5] Ibid. He gives the number of the deserters as 240,000.

[6] Diod. Sic. i. 67. He says they consisted 'of 480,000.'

[7] This is the only place with which the Nile at Elephantine was in the course of the Nile from which it could be said to be 'higher up.' (See Herod. ii. 31.)

0°. Here they were known as the Asmach or Automoli, under which latter name they are often mentioned by the geographers.[1]

The introduction into Egypt of a large body of Asiatic Greeks, warlike and yet civilised and refined, and the close relationship in which they henceforth stood to the king, of whose throne they must have been the chief physical support, were events of considerable importance in their effect upon Egyptian art, manners, and habits of thought. The spirit of inquiry was suddenly awakened in the inert Egyptian mind, which had hitherto been content to work in a traditional groove, and had eschewed all needless speculations. Psammetichus himself had his curiosity aroused, and began experiments and investigations. A strong spring, which welled forth from the rock in the neighbourhood of Elephantiné, and was called by some—absurdly enough—the true source of the Nile, was reputed to be unfathomable. Psammetichus brought a measuring line, with a heavy weight attached to it, and had the fountain sounded, but failed to reach the bottom.[2] A question having been raised, probably by some of the newcomers, as to the relative antiquity of different races of mankind, Psammetichus had two children isolated from their species, brought up by a dumb herdsman,[3] and suckled by a goat, in order to see what language they would speak, since he presumed that, if they never heard a word uttered, they would revert to the primitive type of speech. The result of his experi-

[1] Pomp. Mel. iii. 10; Plin. *H. N.* vi. 29, § 101. Steph. Byz. *ad voc.* Ἀσμαχαῖ. Strabo, however, gives them the name of Semaritæ (xvii. 1, § 2).

[2] Herod. ii. 28.

[3] They do not by any means, but by common consent, being forbidden to utter a word in presence of the children.

ment was thought to prove the Phrygians to be the most ancient nation; and the Egyptians, we are told,[1] thenceforth acquiesced in that conclusion as an established one.

A second consequence of the Greek influx was the establishment of a class of 'interpreters,' who acted as intermediaries between the Greeks and the native Egyptians in business transactions, being equally conversant with the languages of both nations.[2] The Greeks, with that self-conceit which characterises them above all the other peoples of antiquity, declined to speak or understand any language but their own, and thus depended on the interpreters—persons in a humble position—for all their knowledge of the history, antiquities, and religious opinions of the Egyptians. Hence probably the frequent mistakes which disfigure their accounts of these matters, and detract so largely from their value.

It would seem[3] that another consequence was the opening of free communication and commercial intercourse between Egypt and Asiatic Greece, such as had certainly not existed previously. The Egyptians had hitherto been jealous of foreigners, and scarcely allowed them to land upon their coast.[4] Now Greek trade and even Greek settlements were encouraged. The Milesians established a fortified port on the Bolbitine mouth of the Nile, and shortly afterwards founded Naucratis on the western or Canopic branch.[5] That

[1] Herod. ii. 2.

[2] Diod. i. 69.

[3] There is some question as to whether Psammetik I., or Amasis, first threw Egypt open to the foreigner. I agree with Mr Grote that 'the establishment of the Greek factories and merchants at Naukratis may be rather considered as existing in the reign of Psammetichus' (*History of Greece*, vol. v. p. 486).

[4] Herod. ii. 179.

[5] Strab. xvii. p. 801.

city became an important *entrepôt* of Greek commerce, and the monopoly of the lucrative traffic thus established was not long confined to a single state. Chios, Phocæa, Rhodes, Halicarnassus, Mytilene, Ægina, Samos claimed a share in the Egyptian trade,[1] and Naucratis shortly received immigrants in considerable numbers from these and other Greek cities. The wines of Greece were highly appreciated by Egyptian epicures,[2] and Greek pottery and glyptic art attracted a certain amount of favour. Greek courtesans, moreover, established themselves at Naucratis, and accumulated immense fortunes.[3] Thus the influence exercised upon Egypt by the Greek settlement was one not altogether for good; but on the whole it is probable that the benefits which resulted from it outweighed the disadvantages.

The loss of military strength, consequent upon the desertion of the 'warriors' did not deter Psammetichus from attempting, like other founders of dynasties, to claim for himself the *prestige* which is derived from foreign conquests. The Assyrian power decreased rapidly in the decade of years which followed the loss of Egypt,[4] Western Asia became disorganised, and a tempting opportunity was thus offered for Egypt to claim once more dominion over Syria. Psammetichus, if there is any ground at all for the statement of Herodotus that he besieged Azotus (Ashdod) for twenty-nine years,[5] must have commenced his aggressions in this quarter very soon after he became king of all Egypt.[6]

[1] Herod. ii. 178.

[2] Clearchus, the historian of Soli, stated in a work now lost (Athen. Naucratis Strab. xvii. p. 802). On the wine quantity imported, see Herod. iii. 6.

[3] Herod. ii. 135.

[4] See *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. pp. 501 ff.

[5] Herod. ii. 157.

[6] The latest date assigned to Psammetichus by modern writers is

Ashdod was the key of Syria upon the south, and was a city of great strength, as indeed the name implies.[1] Psammetichus can scarcely have blockaded it continuously for the time mentioned,[2] but he may have attacked it frequently, or indeed annually,[3] during that space, and his efforts may only have been crowned with success in the twenty-ninth year from the date of his first assault. The Jewish history of the time shows that he did not carry his arms inland, or make any attempt to interfere with Manasseh, Amon, or Josiah, but it would seem that from Ashdod he pressed northwards along the Syrian coast, and reduced Phoenicia to a species of vassalage, could along the Egyptian power over the coast line as far north as Arvad is, where he built a temple to the Egyptian goddess, Sochet or Hast, and left a statuette inscribed with his name.[4]

It was probably after Ashdod had fallen, and when Psammetichus regarded his power as firmly fixed in Philistia and Phoenicia, that a second great misfortune befell which no wisdom could have foreseen and no

[illegible] (Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 111). He puts *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 277, the whole number of the late of the last year but [illegible] Others (as Lepsius and Brugsch) to [illegible] p. 618. If this view is correct, these years of siege would have lapsed between the establishment of himself as king of all Egypt and his first attack on Ashdod. If the date of Herodotus be preferred, the period would have been [illegible] years.

[1] Ashdod, שדוד, is probably derived from a cognate root with the Arabic *shadeed*, 'strong.' Compare Hebrew שדד.

[2] The ten-years' sieges of Troy and Veii have been regarded as if impossible duration (Ihne, *History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 248; Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, vol. i. p. 404, E. T.). But in the longer and more obstinate sieges of Ardea and Veii we meet with more reasonable periods (Ihne, *History of Greece*, vol. i. p. 248; Lempriere, *Classical Dictionary*, *Ardea*; Niebuhr, *History of Rome*, vol. i. p. 470). Wiedemann (*Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 111) thinks that Ashdod is certainly meant.

[3] The Egyptian wars, like those of the Greeks, generally consisted of a series of separate expeditions, which were carried on in the course of a few months, and continued year after year till the enemy was exhausted, and submitted.

[4] Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, l.c.

statesmanship have averted. Breaking through the great barrier of the Caucasian range, a horde of fierce barbarians—Turanian or Tatar—spread themselves (about B.C. 630–620) over Armenia and Mesopotamia,[1] defeated the armies sent against them by the civilised nations of those parts,[2] became complete masters of the open country, and, having desolated and exhausted one region after another, finally descended upon Syria, and threatened to invade Egypt. Baffled by the high walls which for the most part defended the towns, it was their ordinary practice to pass them by, and to ravage only the towns and villages and the cultivated plains,[3] but on reaching a weak town, reputed rich, temptation to attack, and succumbed to it. Pressing towards Egypt along the coast route, they must have come upon Ashdod, but Ashdod was too strong for them to meddle with. They passed on and reached Ascalon, an ancient city,[4] famous for its temple of Derceto, the Philistine Ashtoreth. This place fell into their hands, and proved so seductive that in a short time the invading host was reduced by its excesses to such a condition as made it little better than an army of women.[5] Psammetichus, under these circumstances,

[1] Compare *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. [illegible]

[2] Herod. i. 103.

[3] Jeremiah (chap. xxxvii. 10) says that even if the Chaldæans who were then besieging Jerusalem should withdraw from the siege, and only wounded men remained in their camp, they would arise and burn the city with fire. Compare the contemporary language of Habakkuk: "I will go into the land of unwalled villages. I will go to them that are at rest, and dwell safely, all of them dwelling without walls and having neither bars nor gates, to take a prey, to take a spoil, to turn thine hand upon the desolate places that are now inhabited, and upon the people that are gathered out of the nations, which have gotten cattle and goods, that dwell in the midst of the land" (verses 11, 12).

[4] Judg. i. 18; xiv. 19; Zeph. ii. 4; Herod. i. 105.

[5] Compare Justin, ii. 3, § 14, with Herod. i. 105, and for the cause of the malady which came on the Scythians at Ascalon, see

found no difficulty in persuading the chiefs, on receipt of a moderate bribe, to give up their project of invading Egypt, and even evacuate the portion of southern Syria which they had occupied. Whether they returned is uncertain;[1] but there is reason to think that from the time of their stay at Ascalon their power declined—the Philistine city proved their Capua—and Western Asia in a short time was able to rid itself of its oppressors.

During the later years of his life, Psammetichus would seem to have devoted his attention to art and architecture. Herodotus tells us that he built the southern gateway, which gave entire completeness to the great temple of Phthah at Memphis,[2] and also "made a court for Apis, in which Apis was kept whenever he made his appearance in Egypt."[3] This latter was surrounded by a colonnade, adorned with Osiride figures eighteen or twenty feet high. Psammetichus also made a new gallery for the reception of the Apis bulls after their death, in the burial-place of Saccarah,[4] piercing the sacred rock with arched entrances, in each one of which at least one Apis was to be deposited. He likewise adorned Memphis with a new temple to Sechet,[5] where she was long honoured as the wife of Phthah and the Goddess of Life. In Thebes he restored those portions of the great temple which had been injured

[1] Herod. *De Asco, Apsu, et Lasu*, ii. 105.

[2] It is suspected that they made a settlement at this time in the Jordan valley, occupying Beth-shan, which from them was to have its name of Scythopolis (Syncell. *Chronogr.* p. 214 c).

[3] Herod. ii. 153. Three courts had been made, and three gateways built on three sides of the temple previously (ib. 121, 124, 153 and 176). [illegible] and a colonnade round [illegible] approach.

[4] Herod. ii. 153. For a representation of the court see the frontispiece to vol. i. of Sir G. Wilkinson's *Ancient Egyptians*.

[5] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 175 ff.

[6] Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 537.

by the Assyrians,[1] and at Medinet-Abou he constructed works which attracted the attention of later ages.[2] Sais, Memphis, Phibe, and Heliopolis were likewise objects of his care, and their sites have yielded specimens of the arts which he fostered and encouraged.[3] An invention of his reign,[4] which cannot, however, be assigned to the initiative of the monarch, was the later *enchorial* or *demotic* writing, which superseded the hieratic, being simpler and easier to write rapidly, though somewhat more spread out over the papyrus.

Besides his wife, Shepenpet, the daughter of King Piankhi, Psammetichus is thought to have been married to a lady called Hent or Hont,[5] who was the mother of his eldest, if not his only,[6] son, Nekau—the Necho of Scripture. By Shepenpet he had a daughter, whom he called Nefukert-nimaut, or 'Nitocris beloved of Maut;' and this princess was taken to wife by her half brother, Necho.[7] Thus the legitimacy supposed to attach to the descendants of Bocchoris was transferred to this prince, who reigned partly in his own right, partly in that of his wife.

[1] Wiedemann, l.s.c.

[2] Rosellini, *Monumenti Storici*, vol. ii. p. 100.

[3] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 175; Wiedemann, l.s.c. Among the works of Psammetichus at Heliopolis was the elegant obelisk of red granite which now adorns the piazza of the Monte Citorio at Rome (Valery, *Travels in Italy*, p. 504.) This monument was transported to Rome by Augustus, and set up originally in the Campus Martius, where it formed the gnomon of a gigantic sundial (Plin. *H. N.* xxxvi. 14).

[4] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 177.

[5] Lepsius, *Ueber die XXII ägyptische Königsdynastie*, p. 301, and Taf. II. at the end of the work.

[6] Wiedemann speaks of another son, Horus, of whom there is a statue in the Museum of the Louvre (*Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 15).

[7] Lepsius, as Dr. Wiedemann suspects that Psammetichus himself took as daughter Nitocris, as a second wife, in order to strengthen his title to the throne (*Geschichte Aegyptens*, pp. 145-6), but has ground for the fact that she is called 'royal wife,' as well as 'royal daughter,' on a tomb at Thebes (*Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 270 b), where the only king mentioned by name is Psammetichus, does not seem to be sufficient to establish such an improbability.

Neco, —[illegible], who must have been tolerably advanced in years when he ascended the throne,[1] was nevertheless one of the most enterprising and energetic of Egyptian rulers. Inheriting his father's designs against Syria and Phœnicia, and convinced that the successful prosecution of such an enterprise as the conquest of those countries required the employment of a powerful fleet,[2] his first efforts[3] were directed towards the construction of a navy capable of contending with any that the Phœnician mariners could bring against him. As Egypt was washed by two seas, and he had ports on both, dockyards were established and ship-building actively pursued simultaneously in the two quarters, the work being pushed with such vigour that in a short time he possessed two fleets of *triremes*,[4] one in the Mediterranean and the other in the Red Sea. Egyptian fleets had hitherto consisted of vessels having one bank of rowers only.[5] But biremes, or vessels with two banks, had been built by the Phœnicians[6] as early as B.C. 700, and triremes had been invented by the Greeks at about the same date.[7] Necos Greek and Carian mercenaries were

[1] Psammetichus must have been less than seventy at his death, and Herodotus says that Necos reigned "four years and sixteen" (ii. 159). Probably he was not much above sixty-four or sixty-five. His reign was a busy and a long one, and may have tired him by that time.

[2] The Pharaohs of the eighteenth dynasty had certainly been accustomed to bring Syrian invasions by fleets. (See above, pp. 288, 289, 340 *et seq.*) Cambyses took care to be accompanied by a fleet when he attacked Egypt. (Herod. iii. 1, 19.) It was the loss of his fleet in the battle of the Nile that forced Sargon [illegible] to abandon the idea of invading Egypt (Isa. xx. 1).

[3] [illegible] canal [illegible] Wâdy-Tumeylât [illegible] Wâdy-Tumeylât, which runs "parallel with the Isthmus of Suez" (Brugsch, *Geographie des alten Aegyptens*, p. 284).

[4] Herod. ii. 159.

[5] See above, vol. i. p. 470.

[6] *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. ii. p. 170, 3rd ed.

[7] Smedley, c. 13.

probably well acquainted with them, and would recommend them to their master as excelling all other vessels of war. The vessels in which they, or rather their predecessors, had reached Egypt forty years earlier, and which were laid up in dry docks near Daphnæ,[1] may have been of this class, and have served the shipwrights of Neco as patterns. At any rate two fleets of triremes were built on the two Egyptian seas, and their active services were put in request, Herodotus tells us, on more than one occasion.[2]

Closely connected with these naval projects and aspirations was, beyond all doubt,[3] another enterprise in which the active-minded monarch engaged at the same period. The great kings of the nineteenth dynasty had, as we have seen,[4] established water communication between the two Egyptian seas by means of a canal carried across from the Nile near Bubastis to the Bitter Lakes, and thence to the head of the Gulf of Suez. But this work had been intended for commercial, not military, purposes, and had been constructed on a moderate scale, the width of the cutting being probably not much greater than that of the canals of our own country. Neco's design was of a far grander character. He wished to construct a ship-canal, along which his triremes might pass, and designed it on a scale which would have allowed of two vessels of this class being rowed abreast,[5] and therefore of their meeting and crossing each other without stopping their oars. Had the work been successfully completed, it would have been feasible to make the

[1] Herod. ii. 154.
[2] Ibid. 159.
[3] See Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 747. I have myself been of the same opinion.
[4] Supra, pp. 207 and 310.
[5] Herod. ii. 158.

two fleets on any occasion when it seemed desirable, and to employ the entire naval force of the kingdom, either in the Mediterranean or the Red Sea, against Phœnicia or Arabia. Unfortunately the enterprise failed. According to Herodotus,[1] it was stopped by an oracle which warned Necho that he was doing the work of the foreigner. But, if any such prophetic announcement was really made—which is, to say the least, doubtful[2]—the priestly warning was probably itself based upon another quite separate fact—namely, the loss of life which occurred when the king attempted to put his plan into execution. In a climate like that of Egypt, and still more of the deserts which border it, hard labour under the scorching sun is itself dangerous; the concentration of many labourers on one spot increases the peril; insufficient provision of supplies and shelter multiplies it. So much work is the Alexandrian canal cost Mehemet Ali the lives of 10,000 men;[3] how many were sacrificed in the construction of the great cutting of M. de Lesseps will probably never be known. Necho is said to have lost, before he desisted, 120,000 of his labourers.[4] The number may be an exaggeration, but it indicates a fact. Excavations having been unwisely concentrated, or too much labour required of them, or an insufficient provision having been made of the necessary supplies, a fearful mortality was the consequence. Thousands perished in the course of a few months, and either compassion for his subjects' woes, or fear of their resentment,

[1] Herod. ii. 158.

[2] It must I say that the idea embodied in the supposed oracle would have presented itself to the mind of any Egyptian when the attempt of Necho was carried to a successful issue by Darius.

[3] Wilkinson, in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 207, note ", 2nd ed.

[4] Herod. l.c.

induced the monarch reluctantly to forego his purpose, and leave his great work unaccomplished.

But the idea of uniting his two navies still haunted him. If it could not be effected in one way, might it not in another? His Greek friends would tell him that the Ocean surrounded the whole of the earth,[1] and he might conclude from this that Africa was a peninsula. If so, might it not be circumnavigated? To obtain an answer to this question, Neco despatched from a port on the Red Sea a body of Phœnician mariners, who, starting with abundant supplies, sailed southward until they reached the extremity of the African continent, rounded the Cape of Storms, and returned, by way of the Atlantic, the Straits of Gibraltar, and the Mediterranean, to the country from which they had taken their departure.[2] The attempt was a success; but the success involved a disappointment. So much time was taken up by the voyage that the junction between the two seas, thus proved to exist, was of no practical service. Neco had to content himself with the glory of a geographical discovery, and to relinquish wholly his project of uniting his two fleets into one.

Having occupied in these enterprises the first two or three years of his reign,[3] Neco, in B.C. 605, proceeded to commence active military operations,[4] invading Syria with a large army by land,[5] while no

[1] Herod. iv. 8.

[2] So Herodotus (iv. 42). The fact of the circumnavigation has been much disputed, but it is accepted by Grote (*History of Greece*, vol. v. p. 190), Junker (*Forschungen auf dem Gebiete der Alterthums*, p. 3), Wiedemann (*Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 149), Birch (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 178), and others.

[3] Neco's accession is placed by the best authorities between B.C. 612 and 610. His attack on Syria seems to have been certainly in B.C. 608.

[4] Herod. ii. 159.

[5] That the land force consisted to a large extent of the Greek and Carian mercenaries, especially the former, is evidenced by the fact that

doubt his fleet co-operated by advancing along the shore. Already possessed of Ascalon and Ashdod, he found no difficulty in penetrating by the coast route[1] as far north as the city of Megiddo on the border of the great plain of Esdraelon. There, however, he was confronted by a hostile force, which blocked his way. Josiah, king of Judah, an energetic monarch, who had taken advantage of the fall of Nineveh, and the general unsettlement of Western Asia consequent thereupon, to reunite under his sway the greater part of the old kingdom of David,[2] determined on opposing the further progress of the Egyptian army,[3] either from a sense of duty, because he regarded himself as a Babylonian feudatory, or from a suspicion that, if the Egyptians became lords of Syria, they would not allow him to retain his sovereignty. In vain Necho tried to disarm his opposition, and induce him to retire, by an assurance that he had no hostile intentions against Judah;[4] but was on his way to Carchemish, the great stronghold upon the Euphrates, where he hoped to meet and engage the forces of Nabopolassar, king of Babylon. Josiah was obdurate. Even Necho's assurance that God was with him, and had commanded the expedition,[5]

Necho met the armour in which he [illegible] at Megiddo to be [illegible] as a thank-offering in the Ionian temple of Apollo at Branchidæ, near Miletus, [illegible] Egyptian monarch had [illegible] (Herodotus ii. 159 and compare Strabo xvii. p. 641).

The ordinary coast route [illegible] would have led Necho round the [illegible] and the base of Carmel, and [illegible] the plain immediately to the Samarian highland. Here Megiddo was situated. On the mistake of Herodotus [illegible] Megiddo for Magdolum see [illegible] Herodotus (vol. ii. p. 386, note [illegible], 2nd ed.).

[1] Jer. xxxvii. 10–19; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 3.

[2] 2 Kings xxiii. 30.

[3] 2 Chron. xxxv. 21.

[4] *Ibid.* The Egyptian is exceptionally careful to [illegible] the assertion. Several [illegible] were sent, as by Manetho (*Records of the Past*, vol. iv. pp. 13–15) mentions [illegible] claimed that God spoke to him [illegible] (see the Inscription of Piankhi in

failed to alter his resolution. A battle was thus forced on the Egyptian monarch, who would gladly have avoided one; and the hosts of Egypt and Judæa met, for the first time since the days of Asa, in the neighbourhood of Megiddo, the scene of so many conflicts. As might have been expected, the Jewish king, not being miraculously helped, as Asa was against Zerah,[1] very soon succumbed; his army was completely defeated, and he himself mortally wounded by an arrow. Hastily quitting the battlefield, he made his way to Jerusalem, where he shortly afterwards died of the hurt received at Megiddo.[2] The Egyptian monarch, having brushed away the obstacles in his path, pursued his march through Gaulonitis and Cœle Syria to the Euphrates. Whether he fought any more battles or no is uncertain; but it appears that his expedition was entirely successful, and that the whole country submitted to him[3] as far as Carchemish (Jerablus). Three months sufficed for the conquest,[4] and at the expiration of that time the victorious monarch returned to Egypt, taking Judæa on his way, and making new arrangements for its political status and government. As a king had been set up in the place of Josiah without his authority, he deposed him, loaded him with chains, and carried him to Egypt as a prisoner.[5] He did not, however, abolish the Jewish state. On the contrary, he selected from the family of Jesiah the prince who had the best

[1] 2 Chron. xiv. 12, xvi. 8.

[2] 2 Kings xxiii. 29; 2 Chron. xxxv. 24.

[3] This is evident both from 2 Kings xxiii. 7, where we hear of Nebuchadnezzar retaking "from the river of Egypt unto the river Euphrates all that pertained to the king of Egypt, and also from Benhadad" (the above-cited work, p. 81, 2nd ed.).

[4] Herod. ii. 159. Here Necho's "three years" are found an account of this re-conquest.

[5] This appears from the three months' reign of Jehoahaz (2 Kings xxiii. 31), who was the king whom Josiah had left behind him, and also from the return of Necho from Carchemish.

[6] 2 Kings xxiii. 33 and 34.

title to the throne,[1] and established him at Jerusalem as subject or tributary monarch. He then fixed the tribute[2] which Judea should pay—a hundred talents of silver (40,625*l*.) and a talent of gold (11,000*l*.), which may be considered a very moderate requirement, and returned to his own country.

The subjection of Syria to Egypt continued for three years.[3] But in B.C. 605 Nabopolassar, king of Babylon, having perhaps associated his eldest son, Nebuchadnezzar,[4] sent him at the head of a large army to win his spurs in a campaign against King Necho. That monarch, aware of what was undertaken, marched in person to the defence of his newly acquired territory, and took up a position resting upon Carchemish,[5] where he awaited the onset of the enemy. The Egyptian force comprised, as usual, a large body of chariots, consisting besides of horsemen and footmen. It was an immense host, and is described under the metaphor of a flood, whose waters toss to and fro, and cover the face of the earth.[6] Seemingly the Greeks and Carians did not on this occasion form any part of the expedition, African auxiliaries alone being employed—Libyans, Nubians, and Marmaridæ.[7] It

[1] Jehoahaz, the people's choice, was passed over. Eliakim, Necho's choice, the eldest. (See 2 Kings xxiii. 31 and 36, 2 Chron. xxxvi. 2 and 5.)

[2] 2 Kings xxiii. 33.

[3] Ibid. xxiv. 1.

[4] Note that Nebuchadnezzar was distinctly regarded as 'king of Babylon' at this time by the Jews (2 Kings xxiv. 1. Jer. xlvi. 2. Dan. i. 1). That his father was still alive appears from Berosus (Joseph. *c. Ap.* i.).

[5] Jerem. l.c. 'The army of Pharaoh-Necho, king of Egypt, which was by the river Euphrates in Carchemish.'

[6] Ibid. verse 8, with the comment of Dean Payne Smith, in the *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. v. p. 52.

[7] Jerem. xxxvii. Mr. Sayce and Prince Lee suggest that the 'Lubim' of this passage may represent the Greek and Carian mercenaries (*Recovery of the Book*, vol. ii. p. 1891), but the Judæan annalists always use African people (Gen. x. 13, 1 Chron. i. 11, Is. lxvi. 19, Ezek. xxx. 5).

was not long before Nebuchadnezzar made his appearance, and joined battle with his adversary. We have no particulars of the engagement, but its result is abundantly apparent. Neco suffered a complete and shameful defeat. His 'valiant men were swept away;'[1] they 'fled apace,'[2] and 'stumbled one over another.'[3] The prestige of Egypt, which lately stood so high, was utterly lost. The cry went forth, 'Pharaoh, king of Egypt, is but a noise,' an empty sound, and nothing more; 'he has passed the appointed time, outlived his energies, and is no longer formidable.'[4] The victorious Babylonians carried all before them, swept down the Cœle-Syrian valley, overran Galilee and Samaria, and appeared shortly before Jerusalem. Jehoiakim resisted them, and the city stood a siege, but was quickly taken and plundered by the irresistible invaders.[5] Nebuchadnezzar then continued his march southwards, with the intention of attacking Egypt, and would probably have made himself master of the country, had he not been suddenly called away to Babylon by intelligence of the decease of his father. Leaving his prisoners and the bulk of his troops to make the long march by the ordinary circuitous route, he himself with a few light-armed crossed the desert and hurried to the capital.[6]

Neco thus obtained a respite, and was able in some measure to repair his losses and redeem his position, before Nebuchadnezzar found himself at leisure to return into Syria, and see to the consolidation of his

[1] Jer. xlvi. 10.
[2] Ibid. verse 6.
[3] Ibid. verse 16.
[4] Jer. xlvi. 17.
[5] Dan. i. 1, 2. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6, 7. It was at this time that Daniel and his companions were carried off, to be nurtured in the royal palace at Babylon.
[6] Berosus ap. Euseb. Chron. Can. Isaac.

power in that distant and not very submissive region. The Egyptian monarch saw clearly that it was of the utmost importance to raise up opponents to the Babylonians in the Syrian territory, and prevent them from obtaining quiet possession of a tract which would bring them to the very doors of Egypt. He therefore intrigued with Judæa,[1] and probably also with Phœnicia, inducing the newly subjected kings to rebel and throw off the Babylonian yoke. In two instances he was successful. Jehoiakim, after three years of submissive endurance, in B.C. 602, declared the independence of his country,[2] and the king of Tyre, a few years later,[3] followed the example of his Jewish brother. Nebuchadnezzar had to begin the conquest of Syria afresh, and, recognising the importance of the crisis, made preparations accordingly. Collecting an army of above 300,000 men, partly composed of his own subjects, partly of Median allies,[4] he, in the year B.C. 598, marched for the second time westward, crossed the Euphrates, and led his troops into Palestine. Dividing his army into two portions, he formed the sieges of Tyre and of Jerusalem simultaneously.[5] Jerusalem was soon reduced, but Tyre resisted with the utmost stubbornness. For thirteen years[6] the further progress of the Babylonian arms was arrested by a single city of no great size, but strong in her wealth and her situation. Under these circumstances, Egypt encouraged

[1] Josephus, *Ant. Jud.* x. 6, § 2. Where Jehoiakim, who was made king by Pharaoh-Necho, is called at 2 Kings xxiv. 7.

[2] 2 Kings xxiv. 1.

[3] Before Nebuchadnezzar's seventh year. Josephus, *Contr. Apion.* i. 21, which was B.C. 598.

[4] Alex. Polyhist. Fr. 24.

[5] Compare 2 Chron. xxxvi. 6 with Josephus, *Contr. Apion.* i. 20. Both sieges seem to have commenced in B.C. 598.

[6] Josephus, l.s.c. Compare Ezek. xxix. 18, where the severe 'service' which Nebuchadnezzar served against Tyre is mentioned.

all further attack; and Neco must have felt that his intrigues had had a success which he had scarcely dared to anticipate.

From B.C. 605—the year of the battle of Carchemish—to B.C. 596, when he died, Neco undertook no military expeditions, but nursed his strength, and remained persistently on the defensive. It was probably during this interval that he occupied himself with the buildings which are mentioned in some of his inscriptions. Though not a monarch who greatly interested himself in architecture or art, Neco still regarded it as incumbent upon him to leave some memorials of his reign. He made additions to the temples of Ptah and Neith at Memphis,[1] enlarged Sais,[2] and set up tablets in the quarries of Toora and in the valley of Hammamat.[3] A statue, which represents him on his knees making an offering, adorns a private collection in Paris.[4] Several vases and scarabæi bear his name,[5] but, on the whole, he must be placed among the kings whose remains are scanty and insignificant. He is thought to have been buried at Sais,[6] whence, early in the last century, was brought a sarcophagus, taken from a mummy, which bore his name and had probably been placed by the embalmers upon the region of his heart.[7]

According to Lepsius,[8] Neco had two wives, Nitakert mentioned, his half-sister, and Takhaat or Tiaroot. It was the latter who bore him the son by whom he was succeeded,[9] and whom he named after his own

[1] Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 715.
[2] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 80.
[3] *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 257 *a*, *b*.
[4] Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 714.
[5] Ibid. p. 668.
[6] Birch, l.s.c.
[7] Ibid. Compare Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 715.
[8] *Ueber die XXVI. ägyptische Königsdynastie*, Table II. at the end of the work.
[9] Wiedemann, l.s.c. Compare Birch, l.s.c.

father Psamatik. This prince, called by Herodotus Psamms,[1] and known to modern historians as Psammetichus II., was distinguished from his grandfather by the throne-name[2] of *Neferabpera*, , the throne-name of Psammetichus I. having been *Uahabpera*, . His short reign of six years, or rather of five years and a half,[3] was not very eventful. As Tyre still baffled all the efforts of Nebuchadnezzar,[4] there was for the time no danger of the Babylonians troubling Egypt, and Psamatik seems to have felt himself so secure upon this side that he ventured to employ the main strength of the empire in the directly opposite quarter. Herodotus tells us that he made an expedition into Ethiopia,[5] and his own monuments give numerous indications of his presence and directing energy upon the Ethiopian border. Two inscriptions on the rocks at Elephantine, one in the island of Bigeh or Beghe, two at Philæ, and one in the island of Konosso,[6] imply a stay of some considerable length at the extreme south of his own proper territory. If we refer to his reign the celebrated archaic Greek inscription of Abu Simbel,[7] we may consider that we have actual evidence of his Ethiopian expedition having penetrated deep into Nubia, under the joint command of a Greek and an Egyptian general, in the latter of whom we may perhaps recog-

[1] Herod. ii. 159. Manetho called him Psammis (Josephus, *Contra Apion.* i. 14; Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 77).

[2] Lepsius, *Königsbuch Taf.* xlvii. No. 844.

[3] The Apis and other stelæ show that he was years of Manetho (Mariette, *Apis*, p. 50) and Herodotus (ii. 161) must be read "five years and a half" (Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, pp. 117–119).

[4] Psamatik II. probably reigned from B.C. 595 to B.C. 590 or 589. Nebuchadnezzar's siege of Tyre lasted from B.C. 585 to B.C. 573.

[5] Herod. ii. 161.

[6] See Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 118.

[7] See the woodcut in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 44, and compare Brugsch, *Recueil des Monuments*, pl. xxxvi. No. 6126; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pl. xii. pls. 66, 66*a*, &c.

ese the later Egyptian monarch, Amasis.[1] Whether a contingent of Jews also lent their aid to the Egyptian monarch, as stated by Aristeas,[2] is perhaps more doubtful, yet is certainly not beyond the range of possibility. Egypt and Judæa were at this time closely drawn together by common fear of Babylon, although Zedekiah, the king of Judæa contemporary with Psamatik II, was a Babylonian feudatory, yet in his heart he was thoroughly disaffected, intended to revolt, and looked to Egypt to support him. The friendly act of sending some of his own subjects to aid Psamatik would strengthen his claim for a return in kind when the fitting hour came, and may thus be accepted, though the authority upon which it rests is weak.

Psamatik would seem not to have brought the Ethiopian war to an end. An inscription upon a statue now in the Louvre tells us that an Egyptian general, named Hor or Horus, was engaged in a struggle with the 'miserable Kush' in the first year of Apries, and completely vanquished them, thus terminating the war which had been continued by that king's predecessor.[3]

Though little distinguished as a warrior or as a statesman, as a patron of art Psamatik II followed worthily in the footsteps of his grandfather. He adorned with bas-reliefs the temples of Abydos and Thebes,[4] made additions to the great fane of Ammon at Thebes,[5] erected an obelisk (or obelisks,[6] to Ra-

[1] Wilkinson in Rawlinson's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 45. The identification is barely possible, since the reign of Amasis outlived the expedition by at least sixty-three years.

[2] See Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens* p. 157, note [1].

[3] Wiedemann, l.s.c.

[4] See Mariette, *Fouilles en Egypte*, pl. 28 *bis*, *b*; *Abydos*, pl. 2 *b*; Lepsius, *Denkmäler*, pt. iii. pl. 274 *a*.

[5] Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens* p. 681.

[6] Obelisks were almost always set up in pairs. The obelisk of Psamatik II still stands in Rome, and is

Harmachis and Tum, probably at Heliopolis, and adorned Sais with a statue of himself and another of the goddess Neith.[1] Sekhmet seems to have received great attention during his reign. Besides the two figures already mentioned, the museums of Europe and Africa contain at least five others, mostly, however, incomplete, which belong to this period.[2] One of these, in the collection of the Vatican, is said to be remarkable for its beauty.[3]

The wife of Psamatik II was a Nitocris, distinguished as Nefer-ib-Ment-á,[4] the daughter of Neco and Nitocris-Mukhut. She bore him two children, a son, to whom was given as a name the throne name of his great-grandfather, Uahpera, and a daughter, called Ankhnes-nefer-ab-ren.[5] The son succeeded, and was known among the early Greeks as Apries,[6] among the later as Uaphris.[7] He was a vigorous and enterprising prince, not afraid of measuring his strength against that of Babylon, and having as his especial aim to re-establish Egyptian influence over the Asiatic regions formerly held by the great kings of the eighteenth, nineteenth, and twentieth dynasties and recently occupied for three years by Neco. Having rapidly brought the Ethiopian war commenced by his father, Psamatik, to a successful conclusion[8] (B.C. 591-0), he cut a ready cut, B.C. 588, to the ambassadors of Zedekiah, king

[1] See the Oldenburg Inscription, Westergaard, *Fragmenta Aegyptica*, p. 14, 1.

[2] Ibid. pp. 10-14.

[3] Ibid. l.c.

[4] Ibid. p. 21. Here written Nefer-ab-ren-mut; Inscription generally Nefer-ab-ren.

[5] See Lepsius, *Ueber die XXII ägyptischen Königsgruppen*, p. 34 and Taf. II. at the end of the work.

[6] The Assyrian Pharaoh of Jeremiah 44:30, called Vaphres by Herodotus (ii. 161), Uaphris by Manetho (Africanus, Eusebius, Syncellus), Ouaphris by Diodorus (i. 68), Ouaphres by Josephus (*Ant. Jud.* x. 7, 1), Ouaphrês by Eusebius (*Chronography*, p. 152, c. p. 247 a). The name or words the same, form was used by the LXX.

[7] Herod. ii. 161.

[8] Manetho ap. Jacob Chron. Can. p. 21, ed. Syncel. *Chronograph.* p. 72, c. p. 247 a. The name or words the same, form was used by the LXX.

[9] See above, p. 483.

of Judah, who proposed a close alliance between the two countries, and engaged that Zedekiah should throw off the Babylonian yoke and openly rebel, if Apries (Hophra) would agree to support the movement by a considerable army.[1] A treaty was at once concluded on these terms; Judæa revolted; and towards the close of the year Nebuchadnezzar laid siege to Jerusalem, building forts around it,[2] and blockading it so strictly that no one could either quit the city or enter it.[3] Apries, under these circumstances, renewed his pledge, levied an army, and, quitting Egypt, marched to the relief of the beleaguered city, and actually raised the siege.[4] The Babylonian monarch did not wait to be pressed between two fires, but broke up from before Jerusalem, and proceeded southward to meet the more important enemy. Hophra, advancing along the coast route, had, it would seem, taken Gaza,[5] and perhaps Ascalon,[6] when he received intelligence of the approach of the Babylonians. It is generally supposed that he at once withdrew into Egypt, so avoiding a battle,[7] but so sudden a change of mind seems improbable, and Josephus distinctly asserts that an engagement was fought in which Nebuchadnezzar was

[1] Ezek. xvii. 15. "He (Zedekiah) rebelled against him in sending his ambassadors into Egypt, that they might give him horses and much people."

[2] 2 Kings xxv. 1; Jer. xxxii. 4.

[3] Jer. xxxvii. 5. "Then Pharaoh's army was come forth out of Egypt: and when the Chaldeans that besieged Jerusalem heard tidings of them, they departed from Jerusalem."

[4] Ibid. xxxvii. 1. I agree with Rawlinson and the author of the Speaker's Commentary, that the capture of Gaza by Apries was probably in the course of the same campaign which saw Gaza and Ascalon also captured by Nebuchadnezzar.

[5] See Ezek. xxv. 15–17. The same campaign which saw Gaza and Ascalon also captured Moab.

[6] Dean Kay in Smith's *Speaker's Commentary*, vol. v. p. 360. But the words of Herodotus, ii. 159, "Apries, having overthrown the Sidonians by sea, and the Tyrian king by land," would be thus understood without bringing Apries to Ascalon. Compare Rawlinson, *Second Monarchy*, vol. i. pp. 191–201; Lenormant, *Manual of Ancient History*, vol. i. p. 384 and elsewhere. But the words of Jeremiah really leave the question an open one.

victorious.[1] Apries, worsted in the fight, had to retire, and made no further effort. The blockade of Jerusalem was re-established, famine set in, the Holy City fell in B.C. 586, and the last remnant of the Jewish people was led away into captivity.[2] Tyre surrendered in the next year,[3] and the schemes of Apries, for the moment, came to nought. Babylon triumphed, the great king returned in B.C. 585 to Babylon, with more than one conquered monarch in his train, victorious over Egypt, Hamath, and Judæa, master of Asia from the range of Zagros on the one hand to the 'river of Egypt' on the other.

But success is apt to beget security, and periods of exertion are, in the East especially, apt to be followed by periods of repose and indolence. Nebuchadrezzar, when he returned home from his captures of Tyre and Jerusalem, must have reached an age at which the physical powers begin to decay, and when rest becomes an object of desire to most men.[4] The silence of the Babylonian historian[5] and of the Babylonian monuments with respect to military expeditions at this period of his reign gives rise to the suspicion that, having, as he thought, done enough for glory, he now proceeded to console himself for the hardships of warfare by giving himself up to the seductive enjoyments of an Oriental court. In any case, Apries seems to have been emboldened to resume his projects of aggrand-

[1] Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* x. 7, § 3.

[2] 2 Kings xxv. 2, 21; 2 Chron. xxxvi. 17-20.

[3] See Rawlinson's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. i. p. 94, 2nd ed.

[4] We can suppose Nebuchadnezzar to have been less than twenty-four or twenty-five when he undertook the war against Necho in B.C. 605. If he was born in B.C. 630, he would have reached the age of forty-five in B.C. 585. That is an age at which repose becomes very dear to ordinary

Persons. It is true that we have only fragments of this writer's works, so the argument *ex silentio* has some of its force.

ment, and to have attacked Syria with a combined fleet and army.[1] We are told by Herodotus that he fought a battle with the king of Tyre at sea, and sent an expedition against Sidon by land.[2] Diodorus adds that he took Sidon, and defeated the combined fleet of Cyprus in a great engagement.[3] These grand successes so elated him that he is said to have defied the gods to cast him down,[4] just as at an earlier date he had called the Nile his own creation—'the stream which he had made for himself.'[5]

It was, however, in the counsels of Providence, that he should suffer a severe reverse of fortune and perish miserably.[6] What degree of credence, indeed, we ought to attach to the story told by Herodotus of the circumstances under which he was deposed and put to death, is doubtful. Herodotus was informed by the Egyptians that the revolution which brought Amasis to the throne arose out of an unsuccessful expedition against Cyrene, in which he was thought to have unnecessarily sacrificed the lives of some multitudes of his soldiers,[7] but Josephus believed that he was put to death by Nebuchadnezzar.[8] Inscriptions have recently been discovered which show that Nebuchadnezzar did really invade Egypt a few thirty seventh

[1] Some historians place the Phœnician wars of Apries somewhat later, believing that he was engaged by Nebuchadnezzar (Prideaux, *Connection*, pt. i. bk. v. p. 134, Winchester, 1720; Wachsmuth, *Einleitung in die alte Geschichte*, pp. 180–1). But they appear to forget that exactly at this time Tyre was being besieged by Nebuchadnezzar, and was probably in alliance with Egypt precisely to avert advancing Egyptian interests.

Herod. ii. 161.

[2] Herod. ii. 161.

[3] Diod. xxx. 1, 3.

[4] Jeremiah had prophesied (ch. xliv. 30): 'Even so saith the Lord, Behold, I will give Pharaoh-Hophra king of Egypt into the hand of his enemies, and into the hand of them that seek his life' (after xxxvii. 5).

[5] Herod. ii. 101–2. These words imply reports Herodotus, and cannot be regarded as a separate witness.

[6] Joseph. *Ant. Jud.* x. 9, § 7.

year B.C. 568), a date which falls within the lifetime of Apries,[1] and coincides so nearly with the accession of Amasis as to render it highly probable that the two events were connected. The Babylonian monarch, it appears, overran the whole of Egypt as far as Syéné, and only there encountered the Egyptian troops,[2] who were under the command of the general Hor, the hero of Apries's Libyan campaign.[3] This commander claims the merit of having inflicted a check on the Babylonian arms, and caused Nebuchadnezzar to retire, but he does not dispute the fact that all Egypt lay at his mercy, and that he had it in his power to remodel the government as he pleased. To depose one monarch and set up another was the usual practice of the Babylonians; to execute a prince who had offended against their code of international law was a proceeding not unknown to them;[4] it cannot but be suspected, more now than ever, that the true course of events was concealed from Herodotus by the self-love of the Egyptians, and that, whatever discontent may have arisen from the failure of the Cyrenaic expedition, Apries was really deposed and executed, and Amasis placed on the throne by Nebuchadnezzar.

The victim of a monarch's offended dignity, or, if we are to believe Herodotus, of a people's hatred, was not deprived of the funeral honours to which his birth entitled him. His body was embalmed, and buried in

[1] The sole reign of Apries terminates in B.C. 571, but he must probably have survived some years longer, as the joint reign with Amasis, and that by which he is known as sole king, are 571 years apart. See Herodotus, by Wiedemann, translated into *Aegyptens*, p. 467.

[2] So Wiedemann in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* for 1878, pp. 2–6, and in Herodotus as translated into *Aegyptens*, pp. 465–6.

[3] See pp. 485–6.

[4] Jer. xxxix. *And Jud.* x. 6. I cannot see that the account of the elevation of Jehoiakim by Nechoh is at all inconsistent with Scripture.

the royal burial-place, inside the temple of Sais, very near the sanctuary.[1] The passions which had pursued the living man calmed themselves in the presence of death, and the last monarch of the line of Psammetichus I. was allowed to find a resting-place in the sepulchre of his fathers.

Apries was wholly undistinguished as a builder, and cannot be said to have been even a liberal patron of art. We have no evidence of his having employed more than a single sculptor on a single occasion in the highest kind of glyptic art, namely statuary.[2] His stelæ are however common, and are sometimes adorned with bas-reliefs;[3] but these have little merit. Nor can more praise be given to the wall-fragments belonging to his reign which have been found at Naukratis[4] and elsewhere. His most noted work is that small obelisk which now stands in the Piazza Minerva at Rome, placed by the fantastic Bernini on the back of an elephant.[5] It is one of a pair,[6] which the Romans brought from Egypt to adorn the temple of Isis and Serapis, when they adopted the worship of those Egyptian deities. Originally dedicated to Neith, and erected probably at Sais, it became the symbol of a very different and far lower worship in a remote and alien capital.

If Apries, however, cared little for artistic memorials, he did not neglect to leave behind him numerous records of his reign in the way of inscriptions. At least six inscribed stelæ belonging to his time are still

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[1] Herod. ii. 169.

[2] One single fragment of a statue of Apries is all that remains of it. It is now in the British Museum (No. 980).

[3] Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, pp. 171 and 175.

[4] *Pentapolis*, pl. 1, pl. 27 A.

[5] Vaux's *Italy*, p. 540.

[6] Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens*, p. 174.

[7] Wilkinson, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians*, 2nd ed. vol. iii. p. 3.

extant,[1] and he has left rock inscriptions at the Hammâmât Wâdy,[2] at Sinai,[3] at the island of Bigeh,[4] at Philæ,[5] and at the island of Konosso.[6] His most important memorial is one found on the site of the temple of Phtah at Memphis, which has been translated by Dr Wiedemann.[7] It secures the rights and privileges of the god Phtah, and of the priests attached to his worship at Memphis, in very stringent terms, requiring all officials to protect the priests in the possession of the tenements belonging to impressed for the public service none of their slaves or peasants, and even to maintain in good repair the canals by which the temple-lands were watered. It is evident that under Apries the priest-class retained its ascendancy, and that even a monarch, who thought no god could cast him down, regarded it as prudent to court priestly favour.

It is agreed on all hands that Amasis, 𓄿𓅱𓈖𓄿𓄿𓏏, or Amosis, who succeeded Apries, was entirely unconnected by blood with the Saïtic family. According to Herodotus, he was a native of Siouph, a small town in the neighbourhood of Sais,[8] and was not even a member of a distinguished house, but a man who sprang from the mid-class. This is not disproved by his possession, at a high military rank, even if he was at one time under Psammis,[9] since in the Egyptian military service advancement was often solely by merit. Various tales were told, not greatly to his credit, of the conduct pursued by Amasis in his younger days,[10] when

[1] See Wiedemann, *Aegyptische Geschichte*, p. 714.
[2] *Inscriptions de Sinai*, pl. 274 A.
[3] Ibid. pl. 4 bis.
[4] Ibid. pl. 274 C.
[5] Champollion, *Notices Descriptives*, p. 154.
[6] *Inscriptions de Sinai*, pl. 274 E.
[7] *Inscription of Amasis on Psammetichus I. Stele*, pl. 1.
[8] Herod. ii. 172. Plate *Timæus*, p. 21 E, makes him a native of Sais.
[9] Wiedemann, p. 451, note.
[10] Herod. ii. 174.

he was 'sowing his wild oats;' but it is questionable whether much credit should be attached to them. Even the anecdotes of his behaviour as king[1] are of the legendary type, parallel to those which the early Persians loved to tell of Cyrus, and the later ones of Artaxerxes, son of Babek, the historical value of which is about equal to that of the tale, with which each English child is made familiar in the nursery, of King Alfred having his ears boxed by the neatherd's wife. We may perhaps conclude, from the general tone of the tales, that among the characteristics of the monarch was a rough and not over-delicate humour, which pleased the common people but shocked the more refined among his subjects. He compensated, however, for this questionable trait by numerous good qualities. He was active and energetic, exemplary in his devotion to business, distinguished as a builder, as a conqueror, as a legislator, and above all as an administrator. If he began his reign under discreditable circumstances, holding his crown as a Babylonian feudatory, and bound probably to the payment of a tribute, he ultimately succeeded in raising Egypt to a high pitch of prosperity and a lofty position among the nations. The decline and fall of Babylon,[2] complete in B.C. 538, gave Egypt wholly into his hands, and enabled him to pursue a policy of his own devising, which, whatever its effect on the national spirit and on the ultimate fate of his country, had at any rate the immediate result of enormously developing Egypt's resources and increasing her wealth and population. Herodotus declares that Egypt had in his day 20,000 inhabited cities,[3] and though this statement may be

[1] Herod. ii. 172–3.

[2] Concerning about B.C. 561, at the death of Nebuchadnezzar

[3] Herod. ii. 177. Inscription,

pronounced impossible, yet it is strongly significant of the extremely flourishing condition of the country under the rule of Amasis. A series of high inundations is said to have intensified the productive power of the land,[1] while an active commerce[2] encouraged the chief Egyptian industries, led to the accumulation of fortunes, and rendered easily procurable a great variety of luxuries. Amasis induced the Greeks to settle in large numbers at Naucratis, and to adorn the town and neighbourhood with temples of the purest Grecian type. He had friendly dealings with the important Greek state of Cyrene, and even took for one of his secondary wives a Cyrenean lady, called Ladice, whom he treated with especial favour.[3] He also removed the Greek mercenaries from the position assigned to them by Psammetichus I., and brought them to the capital city of Memphis,[4] where he made them the garrison of the place. To mark his affection for the Greeks, he offered rich presents to Delphi,[5] Samos, Lindus, and Cyrene, sending to the last mentioned place a statue of Athene covered with plates of gold, as well as a painted likeness of himself.[6]

The only warlike expedition in which Amasis is known to have engaged was one against Cyprus. That important island had formed a part of the Egyptian dominions under the eighteenth dynasty,[7] and was now

writing to the Persians, exaggerates to an incredible extent the number of cities in Egypt (Herod. ii. 99). The fertility, however, is nothing to boast of.

[1] Herod. l.c.

[2] Ibid. ii. 178.

[3] Ibid. ii. 181. The dealings of Amasis with Cyrene are also noticed by Plutarch (*De Isid. Mund.* ch. 29) and Polyænus (*Strateg.* viii. 45). Cyrene is the only Greek state with which Amasis is known to have had relations.

[4] Herod. ii. 154.

[5] Ibid. ii. 180.

[6] Ibid. ii. 182.

[7] See above, pp. 249-51.

again subjected and forced to pay tribute.[1] Its reduction implies the temporary weakness of Phœnicia, which always threw the ægis of its protection over its near neighbour, when sufficiently strong to do so, and frequently claimed and exercised a certain authority over the whole island. It would seem that the long war of Nebuchadnezzar against Tyre and the subsequent expedition of Apries against both Tyre and Sidon had so brought down the Phœnician power at this time, that no help could be given to the Cypriots. To suppose, however, that Phœnicia itself was subject to Amasis, is to intrude into the narrative a fact of which there is absolutely no evidence,[2] monumental or other, while to state[3] that "he led his army into Syria and made himself master of the Phœnician towns," is to indulge in a flight of fancy scarcely worthy of a serious historian.

Amasis lived at a time in the world's history when vast changes were impending, when the entire East was in a condition of ferment and transition, old things being on the point of vanishing away, and all things of becoming new. It is doubtful whether any amount of political wisdom could have enabled him to pursue such a course as would have saved Egypt from invasion and conquest, and the kingdom of the Pharaohs from extinction. As it was, the more shrewd common-

[1] Herod. ii. 182 ad fin. Compare Diod. Sic. i. 68.

[2] Such evidence as exists is rather the other way. By a curious coincidence recently brought from Babylon it appears that "the people of the Tower of Nebuchadrezzar, even the Syrians and Phœnicians, remained subject to Nabonidus, king of Babylon, up to the last year of his war with Cyrus, which was B.C. 538. In that year they revolted and probably regained their independence." (See the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology*, vol. v. p. 134.)

[3] Dr. Wiedemann, *Geschichte Aegyptens von Psammetich I.* p. 174 seq. The story in Ael. Spartianus, *De Hadr.* c. 14, which Dr. Wiedemann also cites, runs thus: "Aegyptum peragravit, omnia sibi ostendi curavit, nihil non vidit, cuncta perscrutatus est, &c.

sense which characterised him was a very insufficient guide amid the difficulties of the situation, and the course which he actually took was one certainly not calculated to keep him free from entanglements, and master of the situation. In the year B.C. 555, yielding to the representations of the Lydian king, Crœsus, he allowed himself to be drawn into a tripartite treaty, which bound up his fortunes irrevocably with those of two Asiatic kingdoms, exposed to far more immediate danger than his own. The rise of the Perso-Median power was a new feature in Asiatic history, and might have been expected to revolutionise Asia, but its effects did not necessarily flow on into another continent. Prudence should have suggested to a monarch geographically isolated to pursue a policy of abstention. Instead of so doing, Amasis was tempted by the apparent advantage of uniting three powers against one to join with Lydia and Babylon in an alliance against Persia, and so to give Cyrus, the Persian king, a ground of quarrel with him. Whether he actually sent troops to the assistance of Lydia, or not, is perhaps doubtful, being denied by Herodotus[1] and asserted by Xenophon.[2] Subsequently, however, when he attacked Cyprus, he clearly took a second step on the road to hostilities with Persia, since, after conquering Babylon (B.C. 538), Cyrus undoubtedly regarded himself as inheriting the whole of the Babylonian empire, which embraced Phœnicia and Cyprus,

[1] Herod. i. 77.

[2] Xen. Cyrop. i. 5, § 4. The account of Herodotus is that Crœsus contracted a debt of hospitality on his return to Sardis from Persia, that he summoned them then to appear at the first month that his crops had been taken, but departure, when the army of Cyrus appeared before Sardis, gave the Lydians a second defeat and took the city within a fortnight. No Egyptians are mentioned, and it is plain that they could not have arrived in time.

[3] Xen. Cyrop. viii. 2, § 10, viii. 4, §§ 30-48. The completely untrustworthy character of this Cyropædia has been sufficiently exposed by Mr. Grote (*History of Greece*, vol. v. p. 415, vol. xii. p. 157).

as depending on Phœnicia. It would appear that Cyrus at once took umbrage, and was hostile intent sent an embassy to Egypt, with the demand that Amasis should give him one of his daughters as a secondary wife.[1] Such a demand, made by equal of equal, was an insult. Amasis, however, did not dare openly to reject it. He devised a sort of compromise, and sent a princess of the house of Apries, under pretence of her being his own daughter, to take the discreditable position. The fraud was discovered after a time, and a further cause of quarrel was thus added to those existing before.

Actual invasion did not, however, befall Egypt in Amasis' time. Cyrus, soon after his conquest of Babylon, became involved in a war on his north-east frontier,[2] which terminated disastrously. He died in B.C. 530–529, and his son Cambyses was at first occupied with a disputed succession.[3] Thus Egypt had a respite. It was not till after the death of Amasis, in B.C. 528–7, that war actually broke out between the two powers, and the hosts of Persia made their attack on the kingdom of the Pharaohs.

During his long reign of forty-four years,[4] Amasis found abundant time to encourage art and architecture. The chief object of his fostering care was the capital city of Sais, which owed to him much of its ornamentation. He added a great court of entrance to the temple of Neith in that city, with propylæa of unusual dimensions, adorned the bronze conducting to it with numerous sphinxes, erected colossal statues within the temple precincts, and conveyed

[1] Herod. ii. 1, 2.

[2] Diod. x. 30; 14, Ctes. *Pers. Exc.* §§ 2–5.

[3] *Behist. Inscr.* col. i. par. 10. Compare Ctes. *Pers. Exc.* § 10.

[4] Herod. ii. 10. Manetho, ap. Syncell. *Chronograph.* p. 75 c. Josephus (*c. Ap.* i. 26) gave him forty-two years, counting, probably the six months of Psammenitus III.

thither from Elephantine a monolithic shrine or chamber of extraordinary dimensions.[1] The length of the chamber was, according to Herodotus, twenty-one cubits, or thirty-one feet six inches, its width twelve cubits, or eighteen feet, and its height five cubits, or seven and a half feet. It must have weighed several hundreds of tons.[2] Another similar shrine, but of smaller dimensions, was erected by Amasis at Thmuis, or Leontopolis, and still remains *in situ*, the length of it is about twenty-two feet, the breadth thirteen, and the height eleven.[3]

Amasis also adorned Memphis with statues and buildings. A colossal work of the former class reached the great height of seventy-five feet, and is said by Herodotus[4] to have been 'recumbent,' the truth perhaps being that it had never been erected. This statue, in the time of Herodotus, lay in front of the great temple of Ptah, which it seems to have been also seen by Strabo.[5] Two lesser colossi were placed by Amasis on either side of the same temple.[6] The temple of Isis, which he erected at Memphis, was a large and handsome building.

Thebes, Abydos, and Bubastis were also scenes of his architectural activity. At Thebes the great Karnak temple is said to have been 'restored' by Amasis,[7] at Abydos that of Osiris was beautified;[8] at Bubastis that of Bast or Pasht was adorned.[9] Mate-

[1] Herod. ii. 175. On the present condition of Sais and the site of the temple of Neith, see Wilkinson's plan at the end of vol. ii. of the author's *Herodotus*.

[2] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 182, estimates the weight at about 1,500 tons.

[3] See Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 363, note 4, 3rd ed.

[4] Herod. ii. 176.

[5] Strab. xvii. 1, § 31.

[6] Herod. *loc. cit.* The height of these was only twenty feet.

[7] Wiedemann, *Herodots zweites Buch*, p. 158.

[8] Ibid. p. 167. [9] Ibid. p. 158.

rials for the restorations and embellishments were derived from the quarries of Toorn, of Hammamât, and of Silsilis, in all which places there are inscriptions dated in this monarch's reign, set up apparently by his officers.[1]

Statuary received its full share of attention at this period, and the king himself was among those who gave this high ghest form of art the greatest encouragement. Besides his colossi, Amasis caused numerous statues to be made of himself, some of which have come down to our day. There is one, much injured, in the Villa Albani at Rome, another, in a still worse condition, at the Hague, and a third, or rather the head of a third, in the Museum of Boulaq.[2] To his reign belong also the statue of Pefnunet in the Museum of the Louvre, that of Nekau-meneht in the Museum of Berlin, and those of Psamatik, Uta-hor suten-net, and Henkath, in the Museums of Florence and London. Statues are also mentioned among the presents which he bestowed upon Greek communities, as Cyrêne, Samos, and Lindus.[3] Some were in stone, others in wood, a material very commonly used by the Egyptians.

The picture of himself, painted on panel, which Amasis presented to the Cyrenæans,[4] shows that he did not confine his attention to statuary, but was likewise a patron of the sister art of painting. Wilkinson says[5] that works of art belonging to this class were produced by the Egyptians as early as the twelfth century; but it may be doubted whether painting of

[1] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, Last *Denkmäler*, pl. iii. pl. [illegible] and.
[2] Wiedemann, *Geschichte*, &c., p. 184.
[3] Ibid. pp. 108–9.
[4] Herod. ii. 182.
[5] See above, p. 402.
[6] In the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 271, note [illegible], 3rd ed.

that early date was not limited to the coarse colouring of bas-reliefs, and whether portraits on a flat surface were not, at the time of Amasis, of recent introduction into Egypt from Asiatic Greece or Lydia, where the art seems to have originated.[1]

Amasis appears to have had at least three wives.[2] The most important of them was Ankhnes-neferaṇra, daughter of Psammetik II and of Nitocris, the sister of Apries, by espousing whom he sought to acquire a legitimate title to the throne of the Pharaohs. Another, as we have seen,[3] was Ladice or Laodice, the daughter of a Greek of Cyrênê, whom he wedded to cement his friendship with that state. A third, named Tentkheta, was the daughter of an Egyptian priest of Phtah, Petenit, or Pate-ent.[4] The last-named of these royal ladies bore him the prince who succeeded him upon the throne under the name of Psammetik Ankh ka en-ra, . Ankhnes-neferaṇra seems to have held the principal rank in the royal harem. She alone of the royal wives was allowed to exhibit herself upon the walls of temples, where she appears sometimes alone, sometimes accompanied by her husband, sometimes attended by an official called Shesh-ank.[5] Her sarcophagus in black marble is of the finest quality, covered with hieroglyphics, and wrought with care and delicacy. It was found at Luxor, behind the Ramesseum, in a deep

[1] Plin. *Hist. Nat.* xxxv 3, va 50

[2] Wiedemann adds another, whom he calls Ta-khet-en-ast-bet, and f whom he finds evidence in Mariette's *Monuments Divers*, pls 66, 68 and in Prisse's *Recueil*, pl. xx. No 2 Birch says 'Amasis married at least three, and apparently four, wives during his lifetime' (*Ancient Egypt*, p 183) Mariette calls the fourth wife Khetet-en-ast-bet.

[3] Supra, p. 491

[4] Lepsius, *Ueber die XXII. ägyptische Königsdynastie*, p. 800, Wiedemann, *Geschichte*, &c., p 194.

[5] See the *Denkmäler*, pl. iii. pa. 278 *a–d*, 279 *a, b, c, e*

pit, by the French expedition of the beginning of the present century,[1] and is now to be seen in the great Egyptian gallery of the British Museum.[2]

Amasis was buried at Sais, in a tomb which he had prepared for himself within the precincts of the temple of Neith.[3] It was a sepulchral chamber, opening out of one of the cloistered courts, with folding doors, and with the tomb at the farther end. Though violated by Cambyses,[4] it was not destroyed, but appears to have been seen by Herodotus in its pristine condition. There are, however, at present no remains to be seen of it.[5]

Psamatik III succeeded his father at a time when the Persian invasion was a thing that could not be arrested. As his whole reign did not exceed six months,[6] and the expedition must have been some months upon the march, we may presume that it was on its way at the time of his accession. All that he could do, therefore, was to make preparations for a stubborn resistance. He gathered his Greek and Carian mercenaries together, and took up a position near Pelusium,[7] the point at which an invader from the north-east necessarily approached Egypt. The foreign corps was supported by a large army of native Egyptians; but it may be suspected that the two elements did not very heartily coalesce, and the result was a crushing defeat which decided the fate of the empire. If we may believe Ctesias,[8] the loss on the Egyptian

[1] Wiedemann, *Geschichte*, &c., p. 107.
[2] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 193.
[3] Herod. ii. 169.
[4] Ibid. iii. 16.
[5] The remains of Sais are altogether scanty and insignificant, and the site of the Temple and the royal sepulchres can only be guessed. (See Wilkinson in the author's *Herodotus*, vol. ii. p. 255, note [7].)
[6] Herod. iii. 14; Manetho ap. Syncel. *Chronograph.* p. 75 B.
[7] Herod. iii. 10.
[8] Ctes. *Exc. Persic.* § 9.

side was 50,000 men, which implies a complete rout, while, as the Persians lost 7,000, there must have been some stiff fighting before the rout began. No doubt the Greeks fought well, but in the broad plain wherein the battle took place they would be outflanked, surrounded, and overpowered by numbers. The Persians were at no time contemptible soldiers, and they were now at the height of their national vigour; they had recently conquered the whole of Western Asia, were full of confidence in themselves, hardy, strong, and accustomed to fighting. The Greeks, on the other hand, had acted as a mere civic guard for nearly half a century, and the native Egyptians were still more unaccustomed to warfare, having seen but little active service[1] since the time of Psamatik I. It is not surprising, therefore, that the army of Egypt was defeated, and driven in headlong flight from the field; nor can we even wonder that no second stand was made in the open, since it must have been felt that the same causes which had given Persia the victory on the Pelusiac plain would secure her arms success in any other similar encounter.[2]

Nothing then remained for Psamatik but to place his troops behind walls, and see if in this way he could baffle or tire out the invaders. Memphis was a strong city, and, had it been well provisioned or able to maintain its communication with the sea, might have stood

[1] Thus had perhaps been employed Apries [illegible] and had certainly served against Cyrene (Ch. XXV). They had also, according to Herodotus (ii. 163), been employed against the Ionians and Carians themselves and defeated them. But other services and not these had remained, and during the long reign of Amasis they had probably never crossed the sea with an adversary.

[2] Egypt has on many occasions, the New Empire being never more than two days in width, been admirably shown. Thebes, and the tracts to either side being fortified with water-trenches. Thus the fate of Egypt has been almost always decided by a single battle.

a prolonged siege.[1] But no special preparations for a siege seem to have been made, and Cambyses had taken care to bring with him a strong fleet,[2] which blockaded the mouths of the Nile, and even mounted the river to the vicinity of the capital.[3] Thus it was impossible to continue the defence very long. After murdering the crew of a Greek vessel, sent to summon them to surrender, and thus deservedly incurring the extreme displeasure of Cambyses, the entire garrison, regarding resistance as hopeless, gave themselves up. Cambyses punished the deed of blood severely. He selected from the Egyptians who had surrendered themselves two thousand chief men—ten for each of the murdered Greeks[4]—and condemned them to be publicly executed. A son of the fallen monarch shared their fate. As for the king himself, it would seem that at first his life was spared,[5] and that he was even treated with some favour; but it was not long before suspicion arose. Psamatik was accused of having taken part in a conspiracy against Cambyses, and was forthwith put to death. Thus perished this unfortunate monarch, the last of the long line of Pharaohs, which commencing with Menes, or at any rate with Semempsu,[6] had ruled Egypt, as a great independent monarchy, for not less than twenty centuries.

It is not within the scope of the present history to pursue the fortunes of the Egyptian people any fur-

[1] Under Artaxerxes Longimanus Megabyzus, or at least the second siege, lasted a year and a half—considerably more than a year, even though compared with the one which Cambyses undertook. (See Ctesias, *Persica*, 32, 33.)

[2] Herod. iii. 10, 44.

[3] Ibid. iii. 13.

[4] Ibid. iii. 14.

[5] Herodotus believed that it was the intention of Cambyses, on returning to Egypt, to save Psamatik as tributary king. But it was impossible whether he would have done so. Egypt and its kings were not to his taste.

[6] On the doubtful question of all Egyptian history before Semempsu, see above, p. 32.

ther. Frequent revolts characterised the period of their subjection to Persia, and from time to time it probably appeared to the people themselves that the throne of the Pharaohs was re-established. But again and again the Persians proved their supremacy in the field, and forced the Egyptians to submit to them. Thus during the Persian period—from B.C. 527 to B.C. 332—Egypt must be considered to have occupied, in the main, the position of a Persian province,[1] and her revolts and re-subjugations belong therefore to the history of Persia. The present writer, in his 'Fifth Ancient Monarchy,' has already treated of them;[2] and the reader who desires to pursue the subject may be referred to that work for information.

Still, it remains to touch briefly upon the art and civilisation of this final period, which have peculiar features not destitute of interest. The time is one of revival, and has been called 'the Egyptian *renaissance*.'[3] Under the Ethiopians, and still more under the Assyrians, Egyptian art has declined, nay, has almost sunk into savagery. Such inscriptions of it as we possess are coarse and tinged with foreign ideas. It was an object of the Psammetichi to re-establish a true native school. We have small remains of their architecture, but enough to show clearly that it went upon the old lines, and we know that it included colossal statues, obelisks, enormous propylæa, pillared courts,[4] and the other main elements of early Egyptian architectural effect. Some novelties in the ornamentation

[1] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 185; Lenormant, *Manual of History*, Ancient, vol. i. p. 475.

[2] See the author's *Ancient Monarchies*, vol. v. pp. 451–5, 458–80, 493–9, 534–8, 1st ed.

[3] Lenormant, *Manual*, vol. i. p. 486; Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 2—, 1st ed.

[4] See Herod. ii. 153, 169, 175, 176, and for the obelisks, see Palmer's *Egyptian Chronicles*, vol. i. 'Introduction,' p. cxxii.

are pleasing.[1] Of their plastic art, on the contrary, we have abundant specimens; and we can see that it aims at a 'return to the good old times,'[2] the representations calling vividly to remembrance the master-pieces of the old empire. True relief is used, instead of the *cuvo rilievo* which was in fashion under the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties. 'An extreme rareness of manipulation in the drawings and lines, in imitation of the best epochs of art in the earlier times, serves for the instant recognition of the work of this age, the fineness of which often reminds us of the performances of a seal-engraver.'[3] Extreme delicacy and extreme elaboration are the main characteristics of the plastic art of the period. Faces are finished with great care, the ear and nose being well rendered, and the hair worked out in the utmost possible detail.[4] Some of the bas-reliefs seem to show traces of Greek influence. There rests upon these works, as has been well said, 'a gentle and almost feminine tenderness, which has impressed upon the

Capital of Pillar from one of the Psamatik Tombs.

[1] On the other hand, some are displeasing. The 'Proto-Doric' order, which, as set to about 1 or 1½ lotus-headed columns to contain and keep the view of the sacred shrine from the gaze of the profane, is not, as Mr. Fergusson (*Ancient Egypt*, p. 17) says, thought to have been proper under the circumstances of the time, but cannot be pronounced satisfactory in detail.

Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. i. p. 283, et seq.

[2] Ibid. p. 292.

[3] Wilkinson, *Geschichte Aegyptens von Psammetich I.* p. 125.

imitations of living creatures the stamp of an incredible delicacy both of conception and execution.[1] Wood-engraving is incapable of expressing such soft and tender treatment,[2] but the accompanying illustrations will perhaps help to give some slight idea of

Bas-reliefs of Pasamak I.

the art in question—of its beauty, delicacy, and approximation to the Greek type.

Similar refinement is observable in the statues and statuettes. The Pastophorus of the Vatican, the Horus of the Louvre, the bronze statuette of Ammon Arsaph, a

[1] Brugsch *History of Egypt*, i. 2. nothing to be desired. (See his *Monuments Divers*, pl. 33.)

[2] The photographs of M. Mariette on the other hand, leave

in the British Museum, the 'little statues, holding a shrine, of the Saite dignitary, Pitebhu,'[1] the 'famous cow of the celestial Hathor, and the statues of Osiris and Isis, the offerings of a certain Psamatik, which now form the admired master pieces of the collection at Boulaq; the numberless standing images in bronze of the goddess Neith of Sais—these, and a hundred similar works of sculpture, furnish instructive examples of the refinement and delicacy of the monuments which came from the hands of the artists of this period.'[2] The proportions of the figures are defective, the limbs being too long and slim, the muscular development is but slightly indicated,[3] and the whole result is wanting in strength and vigour, but grace, softness, tenderness characterise the period, and give it a beauty and elegance which are 'charming.'[4]

But, while in artistic matters there was thus an effort—almost only moderately successful—to return to antiquity and to produce works of an ancient type, in religion and in manners the spirit of the age was different, and exhibited an unwholesome craving after what was strange and novel. 'Beside the great established gods of the old Egyptian theology, there now came forward upon the monuments,' says Dr Brugsch,[5] 'monstrous forms, the creations of a wholly roving fancy, which peopled the whole world—heaven, earth, and the unfathomable and subterranean depths—with demons and genii of whom the older age with its pure doctrine had scarcely an idea.' By the time of Nectanebo I.

[1] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. [illegible] 1st ed.
[2] Ib.
[3] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire ancienne*, vol. i. p. 403.
[4] Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire ancienne*, vol. i. p. 403.
[5] *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 283-4, 1st ed.

half the gods of the Pantheon were new,[1] and though this extreme development was the work of a later age than that of the Psammetichi, the spirit from which it proceeded was already abroad. Asia poured the fetid stream of her manifold superstitions into Africa, and to the old theology was added a wild and weird demonology which proved wonderfully attractive to the now degenerate Egyptians. At the same time the belief in magic and witchcraft became general. 'Exorcisms of the demons in all manner of forms, from wild beasts with their ravening teeth to the scorpion with his venomous sting, form henceforth a special science, which was destined to supersede the old and half lost traditional lore of past ages. The demon song of "The old man who regained his youth, the hoary one who became young again," the exorcisms of Thoth and the powers of witchcraft in league with him, are the favourite themes which cover the polished surfaces of the monuments of this remarkable time.'[2] Apis-worship became also more pronounced. Ever-increasing honours were paid to the sacred bulls, as time went on. The tablets recording their birth, life, and burial grow in length,[3] the ceremonies accompanying their sepulture become more complicated and more expensive,[4] and the adornment of their tombs more magnificent. Granite sarcophagi were provided for them, and these were cut and polished with great care,[5] they were

[1] See the *Transactions of the Society of Bibl. Archæology*, vol. iii. pp. 426 ff.

[2] Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 284, 1st ed.

[3] See Mariette, *Sérapéum de Memphis*, p. 28, and cf. also Brugsch, *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. pp. 286–8, 1st ed.

[4] Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, p. 176. Diodorus says (i. 84) that the cow was worshipped in a manner which cost £4,000!

[5] Mariette (*Choix de Monuments*, p. 9), speaking of these sarcophagi, says: 'Tous sont de granit poli et luisant.'

from twelve to thirteen feet high and from fifteen to eighteen feet long; the smallest did not weigh less than sixty-four tons.

Manners likewise suffered a transformation. The women were degraded by having the heavier forms of

Curious Ornament worn by a man of the Fourteenth Dynasty, perhaps a charm

labour thrown upon them,[1] and were otherwise burdened and placed under restrictions.[2] The men were demoralised by being cut off from military training, and from the bracing effects of active service both upon mind and body. National spirit was sapped by the devotion of the royal favour on a race of foreigners, to whom Egyptian customs and Egyptian ideas were abhorrent, and who no doubt openly showed their contempt for the unwarlike nation which had fallen

[1] Herod. ii. 35; Soph. *Ant.* 820–852.
[2] Herod. l.s.c.

their services. Commerce with Greece and with Asia unsettled all the old Egyptian opinions and habitudes, and introduced a thousand novelties of belief, dress, and behaviour. The Saïte kings but thought to renovate the old monarchy by an infusion of fresh blood into its veins[1]. But the experiment, always hazardous, failed, since the patient was too weak to bear so violent a remedy. The civilisation of the Egyptians had grown up under circumstances which completely isolated it. Its continuance depended on the isolation being continued. The basis upon which it rested was immobility. From the time that it was brought into contact with the spirit of progress, as embodied in the Greek race and the Greco-Asian civilisation, it was necessarily doomed to perish. It did not possess the vigour or vitality which could enable it to start afresh on a new path, nor was it sufficiently solid and self-poised to remain unaffected by the new æra. Like a building, grown old and unstable through the long lapse of years, which it is attempted to restore and renovate by new work alien in character, the Egyptian civilisation collapsed under the attributes of the times and the experiments made upon it, disappearing from the ken of men in a heap of unsightly ruins. That it has a revival under the Ptolemies is what we should not

[1] Les rois Saïtes avaient cru sauver l'Égypte en lui ouvrant de plus larges portes aux étrangers, en multipliant leurs relations avec eux, en favorisant leur établissement dans le pays. Ils avaient pensé que le moyen le plus sûr de la préserver de la contagion était de la mettre en état de la repousser sans cesse avec force. Mais le moment n'était pas encore venu où les barrières allaient tomber de toutes parts, où le Nil allait devenir comme une route publique ouverte à tous les vents de la doctrine. Les événements n'avaient pas encore préparé les esprits, pour ainsi dire, à cette facilité de communications, à cette sorte de perpétuité de rapports qui devait bientôt exister entre les peuples les plus éloignés. Ce qui n'était pas possible alors, ne cessa pas de le paraître aux yeux de la foule, et Manéthon, en prêtant à Amasis la pensée de ses contemporains, ne fit que rendre plus sensible l'anachronisme (Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 4[illegible]).

have expected, and must be regarded as an indication of its having possessed an extraordinary force and power—a force and power which enabled it to rise from the grave after a trance of two centuries and become once more for nearly three hundred years a living entity.

APPENDIX.

NOTE A. (See p. 9.)

The fragments of the Turin 'Papyrus of the Kings,' after all the care and labour bestowed on them by Seyffarth,[1] Lepsius,[2] and Wilkinson,[3] admit still of so much variety of arrangement, that only in a comparatively few cases can we compare with absolute certainty its statements as to the length of kings' reigns with those of Manetho. In far the greater number of cases where such a comparison has been regarded as possible, the possibility rests upon a hypothetical arrangement of the fragments, which is more or less probable; and thus an element of uncertainty comes in. We shall therefore, in the subjoined comparative list, distinguish the certain from the doubtful cases by printing the former in italics. With regard to the latter, which are printed in the ordinary Roman type, we shall in each case give in a separate column the authority by whom the arrangement producing the result has been made.

[1] See his work *Theologische Schriften der alten Aegypter und neue Turiner Papyrus zum ersten Male übersetzt* (Leipzig, 1855).

[2] Lepsius has arranged the fragments in his *Konigsbuch der alten Aegypter*, zweite Abtheilung, Berlin, 1858.

[3] Wilkinson's work on the Turin papyrus is of the most elaborate character. He not only represents in *fac-simile* the face of the MS., containing the names and length of reigns of the kings, but gives the back also, which contains writing on an entirely different subject but of great value towards determining the true position of many of the fragments. Another *fac-simile* edition, which I have not seen, was published by Pleyte and Rossi in 1869-70.

MANETHO, according to

Names of Kings	Africanus	Armenian Eusebius	Eusebius of Syncellus
	Yrs.	Yrs.	Yrs.
2nd DYNASTY			
Nephercheres	28		
Sesochris	48	48	48
Cheneres	—	—	30
3rd DYNASTY			
Necherophes	28		—
Tosorthrus	29		
4th DYNASTY			
Soris	29		
Suphis	63		
Suphis II	66		
Mencheres	63		
Rhatoises	25		
Bicheres	42		
Sebercheres	7		—
5th DYNASTY			
Usercheres	28	—	—
Sephres	13	—	—
Nephercheres	20	—	—
Sisires	7	—	—
Cheres	30	—	—
Rathures	44		
Menchres	9		—
Tancheres	44	—	—
Obnos	33		
6th DYNASTY			
Othoes	30	—	—
Phiops	53	—	—
—	—	—	—
Menthesuphis	7	—	—
Phiops	94	—	—
Menthesuphis	1	—	—

TURIN PAPYRUS.

Names of Kings	Years	Months	Days	Authorities
2nd DYNASTY				
Neferka-Sokari	8	2	0	De Rougé & Brugsch
Hotepa	11	8	4	"
Rebau	27	2	1	"
3rd DYNASTY				
Nebka	19	7	7	"
Sar	19	11	0	"
4th DYNASTY				
[illegible]	19	6	0	Brugsch
[illegible]	0	0	0	
[illegible]	0	0	0	
[illegible]	24	0	0	"
[illegible]	24	0	0	
[illegible]	24	0	0	"
[illegible]	8	0	0	
[illegible]	18	0	0	"
[illegible]	4	0	0	"
[illegible]	8	0	0	"
[illegible]	7	6	0	"
[illegible]	13	0	0	"
[illegible]	7	0	0	"
[illegible]	21	0	0	"
Menkahor	8	0	0	"
Tat	28	0	0	"
Unas	30	0	0	—
6th DYNASTY				
[illegible]		—		De Rougé & Hincks
[illegible]	7	6	21	"
[illegible]				
[illegible]	30	0	0	"
[illegible]	100	0	0	"
[illegible]	90	0	0	"
[illegible]	1	1	0	"

Manetho, according to				Turin Papyrus.				
Names of Kings	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	Names of Kings	Years	Months	Days	Authorities
	Yrs.	Yrs.	Yrs.					
12th Dynasty								
Amenemmes	16	16	16					Wilkinson
Sesonchosis	46	46	46	—	45	0	0	"
Ammenemes	38	38	38	—	10 at least			"
Sisortes	48	48	48	—	19	"		"
Lacharis	8	8	8	—	30	"		"
Ameres	8			—	10	"		"
Amenemes	8	42	42	—	8	8	27	Wilkinson & Bunsen
Skemiophris	4				[illegible]			

NOTE. It will be seen that of the thirty-seven regns contained by the papyrus only two make up more than the number of years which Manetho assigns to the whole dynasty. Taking, however, Manetho's numbers as they stand, the whole dynasty would last 453 years, whereas the duration of the papyrus account is less than 213 years.

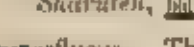
NOTE B. (See p. 371.)

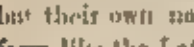
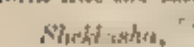
Most Egyptologists accept the identifications of De Rougé, and regard the Tanauna as Danauns, the Shardana as Sardinians, the Shekisha as Siculians or Sicilians, the Tulusha as Tuscans, the Uashash as Oscans, the Purasata as Pelasgians, and the Tekaru as Teucrians. But there is scarcely any case, excepting the last, where the identification is etymologically satisfactory.

Tinnauna, [hieroglyphs] Rendered letter for letter, this word is *Ta-a-na-u-n-a*, hardly a natural equivalent for the Greek Danaoi. The hand, [hieroglyph], may no doubt represent *d*, but the double *n* which follows corresponds but

[1] Chabas, *Recherches*, pp. 45–50. Birch, *Ancient Egypt*, pp. 138–42. Passages in *Records of the Past*, vol. viii. p. 47. M. Lenormant agrees as far as the Danauns, Sardinians, Siculians, and Teucrians are concerned. (*Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 440.)

ill with the *short* Greek alpha. The *a* is altogether superfluous, as also is the *n* of the final syllable. By saying that *Tdnauna* represents the 'Danaans,' this superfluous is concealed, since 'Danaan' has no *n*; but the *-an* is an English adjectival ending, to which there is no equivalent in the Greek Danaoi. It has been sought to remove the objection from the double *a* by supposing Danan, and not Dana, to be meant,[1] but the second *a* remains superfluous in this case no less than in the other.

Sharuten,  . Here again the final *n* is superfluous. The people of Sardinia were known to the Romans always as Sardi, to the Greeks generally as 'Sardoi.'[2] It is true the Greeks called them 'Sardones' occasionally;[3] but their own name for themselves is likely to have had a form like the Latin.

Shekelesha,  . In this word the *sh* and *s* signs are superfluous. In Siculi, Sicili, there is no second *s*, and the best Egyptian equivalent would be Shekla, or rather Sekla,  there being no necessity of changing the initial *s* into *sh*.[4]

Tuhesha, . The *h* may no doubt be read as *r* no less than as *l*; and *Turesha* may be the proper articulation. It is said that the word well represents the *Tusci* of the Romans, or still better the *Turare*, *Turaca*, of the Eugubine Tables.[5] We are told, however, that the Tuscans or Etruscans called themselves *Rasena*,[6] so that the initial *t* would appear not to be a root letter of the name.

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[1] Chabas, *Recherches*, p. 30.

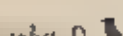
[2] Herod. i. 170, v. 106. &c. Scylax, *Peripl.* § 7. Strabo, v. 2 § 6, &c.

[3] Mr Bunbury in the *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography* (vol. ii. p. 1077) gives Σαρδόνες as the only Greek ethnic form. But Σαρδόνιοι is found in Herodotus, vii. 165.

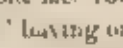
[4] This objection holds good also in the case of the *Sharuten*, *Turesha*, and *Ekuash*.

[5] Chabas, *Recherches*, p. 47.

[6] Dionys. Hal. *Antiq. Rom.* i. 30.

Qashasha,  . If the name 'Oser' is a contracted form of 'Opser' (through Opsesr),[1] and *p* consequently a root letter of the name, we should expect the *p* to appear in an Egyptian representation of the word bearing date about B.C. 1300. Further, the second *sh* is superfluous, 'Oser' having one *s* only.

Purusata, . Here the difficulty is admitted to be considerable, since, if the Pelasgi are meant, the *t* of the last syllable is inexplicable. It is true that the Egyptians had no *g*; but they had several forms of *k*, and would naturally have expressed the *g* in Pelasgi by one of them.[2] There would also have been no reason why they should have used the long *a*, , to express the Greek epsilon in Πελασγοί. These grounds of objection to the proposed identification are so strong, that many think them insuperable, and suggest that the *Purusata* are really the Philistines,[3] פְּלִשְׁתִּים, Φιλιστιείμ, whom they suppose to have migrated from Crete at this time, and, after their repulse by Rameses, to have been settled by him in Gaza, Ashdod, and Ascalon. This view, however, if free from etymological, is loaded by historical difficulties;[4] and the result is that the Purusata, like most of the other tribes named, remain an enigma for future ages to unriddle.

Tekaru,  . The identification of the Tekaru with the Teucri (Τεῦκροι is wholly unobjectionable. Etymologically the two words are exact equivalents, while historically the Teucri are known as powerful and bold adventurers, dissatisfied with their old settlements in Asia, and desirous of spreading themselves into remote countries. The Teucrian

[1] As Niebuhr argued (*History of Rome*, vol. i. p. 99 b. Tyrwhitt Jones's translation). On the uncertainty of the consonantal power of *ayin*, see *Oasis*.

[2] As they expressed Gaza by Qasatuna, Megiddo by Makatu, Gaza by Qazzatu, Ashdod by Makatal, &c.

[3] So Lenormant, *Manuel d'Histoire Ancienne*, vol. i. p. 438.

[4] These are well pointed out by M. Chabas (*Recherches*, pp. 46–7).

and Mysian invasion of Europe, mentioned by Herodotus,[1] which began at the Canal of Constantinople and ended at the Adriatic, is a fair parallel to the expedition of the Tekari and Purusata in the eleventh year of Rameses III., which began in Asia Minor and terminated on the confines of Egypt.

The argument which has the greatest force in favour of the proposed identifications is the cumulative one. While, severally and separately considered, the identifications are in almost every case doubtful, they lend support to each other by the way in which they blend into an harmonious whole. No counter theory has been proposed which is nearly so plausible. Dr. Brugsch's "Caspian Colchian" invasion, in which the natives proceed from Armenia and Cilicia, partly by land through Asia Minor, and partly by water on the Mediterranean,[2] in which the Pulusatha are the Dwellers of the Caucasus,[3] the Tekaru and the Purusata Zygritæ and Praesidiæ from Cyprus,[4] the Turusha people of Mount Taurus,[5] the Shardana Colcho-Caucasians, and the Shekelusha the people of Zagylis,[6] has no coherency, and approves itself to no one. In the theory of De Rougé, adopted by M. Chabas and Dr. Birch, there is the double charm of consistency and of surpassing interest. The nations form a group, widely dispersed yet still continuous, extending from Sardinia and Sicily on the one hand to north-eastern Asia Minor on the other. They represent the chief nations of those parts and leave no manifest gap. The parts, by land and sea, are distributed as we might expect. And the result is that most minds accept the view as probably not far from the truth. They delight to think that the European nations, so far back as the thirteenth century B.C., showed signs of their inherent vigour, possessed fleets, fought naval battles,

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[1] Herod. vii. 20. Compare v. 13.

[2] *History of Egypt*, vol. ii. p. 147, 1st ed.

[3] Ibid. p. 140.

[4] Ibid. p. 151.

[5] Ibid. pp. 125-6.

[6] Ibid.

and contended with the most advanced and the most powerful of then existing monarchies. They cannot but feel that the entire subject is encompassed with difficulties, but the theory which has been put forth attracts them, and they embrace it with entire satisfaction. If it is not true it ought to be. *Se non è vero è ben trovato.*

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[2] Quoted as 'Guide to Museum.'

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Errata to Vol. I.

Page 130, line 18, *for* *read*

„ 203, „ 14, 16, 17, *for* *read*

Errata to Vol. II.

Page 12, line 9, *for* 'twenty five' *read* 'a dozen' and read *by the following numbers according to*

„ 20, „ 12 *for* 'Thothmes IV.' *read* 'Thothmes III'

„ 61 „ 20 *for* 'an incantation' *read* 'incantations.'

„ 90, note 5, line 1, *for* 'and Sahura' *read* 'Sahura, and Ramses'

„ 143, line 25, *for* 'that frontier' *read* 'the frontier'

„ 326, „ 11, *for* 'Moses' *read* 'Joseph'

„ 483, „ 5, *for* ♀ *read* ♂.

Addendum to Vol. II

Pages 107 and 110. Since the earlier part of this volume was printed off, the pyramids of Pepi, and his wife Merenra, have been identified. They belong, as might have been expected, to the Saqqarah group, and correspond to Nos. 1 and 2 on Colonel Howard Vyse's plan. The sepulchral chambers, which contained the bodies of the kings, are covered with hieroglyphics of a religious and funereal character.

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